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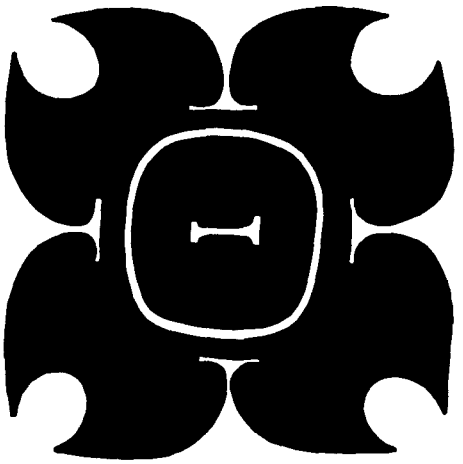
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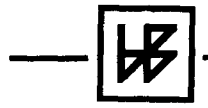
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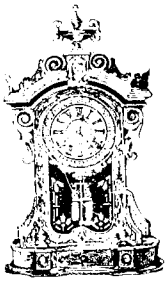
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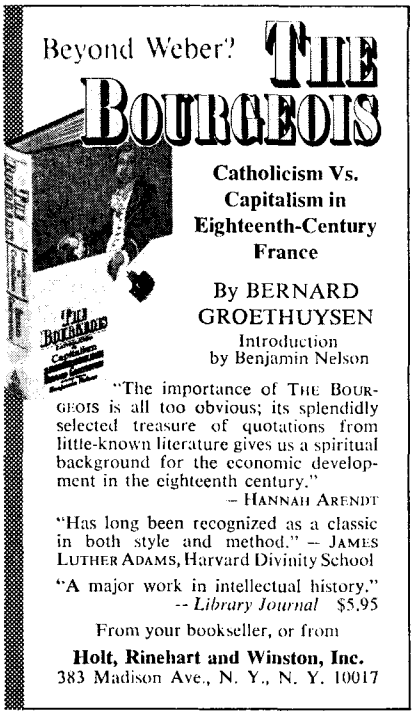
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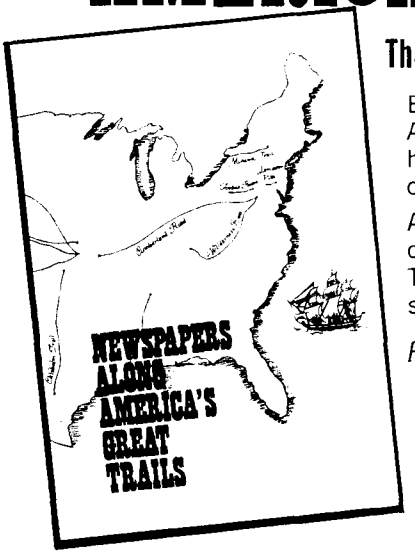
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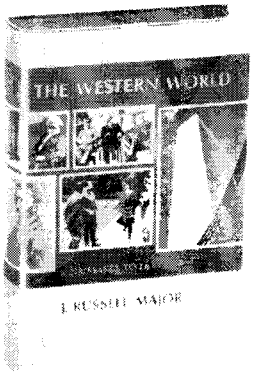
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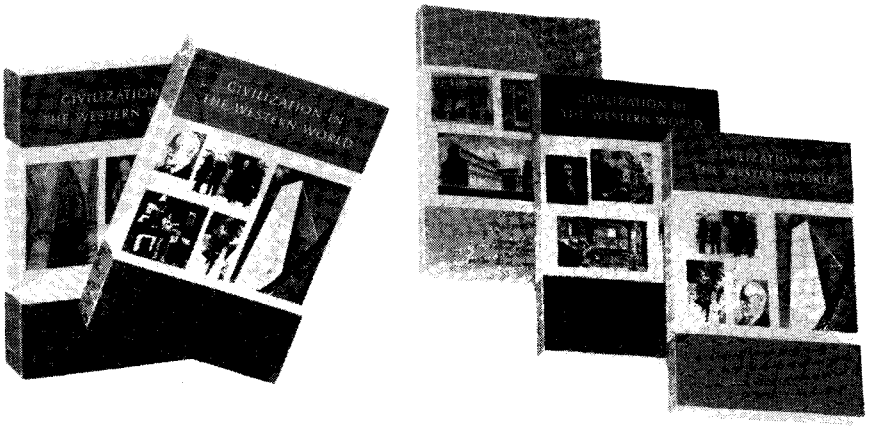
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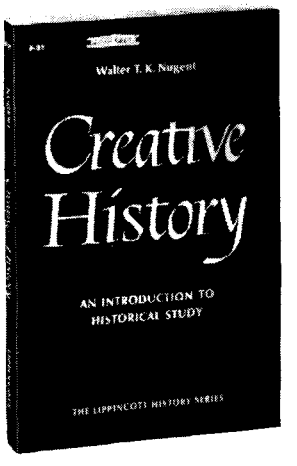
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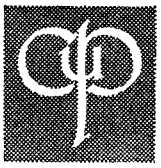


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The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain

ANDREW C. HESS

THE Christian conquest in 1492 of the last Muslim state on the Iberian Peninsula by no means ended the existence of Islam in Spain. For centuries the leaders of the reconquest, bowing to economic necessity and tradition, had allowed Muslims to retain their customs within newly reconquered territories. Now, with the absorption of Naṣrid Granada, the new state, formed by the merger of Castile and Aragon, not only ruled most of the Iberian Peninsula but also controlled the destiny of a sizable Islamic community, one that would carry on the long Muslim resistance to the Christianization of Spain.

The fall of Granada at the end of the fifteenth century, moreover, did not rule out the possibility of another Muslim invasion of the peninsula.

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After all, rude warriors from Africa had twice stiffened the backbone of Iberian Muslims before the completion of the reconquest; hence proximity and tradition argued that another invasion from North Africa might again roll back the Christian conquests.[1] And, while the Islamic struggle went poorly in *al-Andalus*,[2] elsewhere Muslims recovered their strength. At the other end of the Mediterranean, Turks and Mongols had previously attacked the heartland of the Near East; yet, once the invasions ceased, the Asian conquerors who remained in Islamic territories formed the powerful Ottoman and Mamluk sultanates that drove crusader and nomad from old centers of civilization.[3] Would not the same process take place in the western portions of the Islamic world? The Community of Believers in Spain must have met the *reconquista* with some degree of self-confidence derived not only from a religion that claimed to be the last and true message but also from a history that, despite the difficulties in *al-*

[1] The conquest of Toledo in 1085 compelled weak Muslim rulers to look for support from the powerful Almoravid state in North Africa. The Almoravids (1090–1145) and their successors, the Almohads (1145–1223), then entered Spain to rule Islamic territory and to continue the holy war against the infidel. Thus the Islamic reaction in the period of retreat included the decline of Muslim strength in Spain, the rise of Islamic power, based on religion, in North Africa, and the subsequent invasion of Spain from the south. This general design would almost repeat itself in the sixteenth century. (General references are in Charles-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord* [2 vols., Paris, 1956], II, 76–131; and W. M. Watt, *A History of Islamic Spain* [Edinburgh, 1965], 91–111.)

[2] In Arabic sources the geographic sense of *al-Andalus* sometimes includes all of the Iberian Peninsula; it also has been used by Arab writers, however, to mean only the Muslim portion of Spain. In a North African context, the term was employed to describe Muslim immigrants from Spain. (Évariste Lévi-Provençal, "Al-Andalus," *Encyclopaedia of Islam* [hereafter cited as *EI*²] [new ed., 2 vols. to date, Leiden, 1954–], I, 486–503; J. D. Latham, "Andalus in North Africa," *ibid.*, Appendix i.) In Ottoman sources the term retained the narrower geographical sense (Muslim Spain), and, when in construct with the word "people," *Andalus ehlisi*, meant the Muslims in Spain both before and after the reconquest. The following citations are from the "Mühimme Defterleri" (Registers of Important Affairs), held in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul. The importance of these materials for Mediterranean history is covered in Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552–1615* (Oxford, Eng., 1960). Since there is no standard for citing these sources, my system is as follows: archival number of the register (MD 23), page number followed by the order number (139:284), and the date attached to the order in the register (28 B 981/1573). For the months I have used the archival system: *Muharrem*, M; *Safer*, S; *Rebiyülevvel*, RA; *Rebiyülahır*, R; *Cemaziyelevvel*, CA; *Cemaziyelahır*, C; *Recep*, B; *Şaban*, Ş; *Ramazan*, N; *Şevval*, L; *Zilkade*, ZA; *Zilhicce*, Z. Where the date is important, I have given the Christian equivalent according to the tables in Faik Reşit Unat, *Hicrî Tarihleri Milâdî Tarihe Çevirme Kılavusu* [A Guide for Converting Muslim to Christian Dates] (Ankara, 1959). MD 15 27:234 (4 S 979/1571); MD 23 139:284 (28 B 981/1573); MD 23 121:244 (19 B 981). Besides the sources cited above, the Ottoman use of the term *Andalus* can be found in Gelibūlīlī Muṣṭafā 'Alī Çelebī, "Künh-ul-aḫbār" [The Totality of Information], IV, fols. 241^{b}–42^{a}, Nur-i-Osmaniye Library, TY 3409; Mehmed b. Mehmed, *Nuḫbet-üt-tevārīḫ ve-ül-aḫbār* [The Flower of Histories and Chronicles] (Istanbul, 1276/1859), 118; Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netā'ic-ul-Vuḳu'āt* [The Consequences of Events] (4 vols., Istanbul, 1294–1327/1877–1909), I, 157; Ali Riza Paşa, *Mir'at-ul-Cezāyir* [The Reflection of Algeria], tr. Ali Şevki (Istanbul, 1293/1876), 28 ff.

[3] A general guide for the recovery of Egypt as a center of Muslim power is in M. M. Ziada, "The Mamluk Sultans to 1293," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton (5 vols. to date, Philadelphia, 1955–), II, 735–58. On the Ottoman side, Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1965), is an excellent introduction.

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Andalus, had registered victory after victory in the holy war against the Christian.

Spain, however, had changed by the end of the fifteenth century, and the confrontation between the two civilizations was different. Mixed in with old political and religious antagonisms was a new awareness of Spanish uniqueness, an exclusiveness forged in centuries of warfare against the Muslims.[4] During the last years of the *reconquista,* this compound of nationalism and religion led the rulers of Castile and Aragon to introduce policies reflecting the forces that established sixteenth-century Spain. In the year of the reconquest, decrees implementing forced conversion or expulsion of non-Christians appeared as formal policy designed to promote a Catholic, Christian Spain. As a result the Jews of Castile and Aragon were given the choice of becoming Christians or leaving the peninsula.[5] While there was no indecision concerning that small but valuable community, the Moriscos[6] were a different and much more complex problem; for conquered Muslims made up large, economically important communities spread throughout the kingdom. Since each Morisco community represented what amounted to a separate case, the expulsion of the Moors would have been far more difficult than the expulsion of the Jews. And so the rulers of Spain looked to conversion, as a result of proselytization, as the means by which the Muslims were to be absorbed into Christian Spain. Soon, however, the "other civilization" showed that it remained attached to its culture in the face of increased pressure to convert.[7]

At the turn of the century the aggressive attempts of Cardinal Ximénez

[4] Américo Castro, *The Structure of Spanish History,* tr. Edmund L. King (Princeton, N. J., 1954), 14–30 *et passim.*

[5] On the expulsion of the Jews, see R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New World* (4 vols., New York, 1918–34), II, 92–94. For a history of the Jewish counterpart to the Morisco, see Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (New York, 1966).

[6] Moriscos is the name given to the Muslims who stayed in Spain after the reconquest. In Spanish they were known as *mudéjares,* which is derived from the Arabic *mudajjan* meaning "permitted to remain." In Ottoman sources, aside from the people of *al-Andalus,* three terms were used for the Muslims who lived under the control of the Spanish: *mudaccal, mudaccan,* and *müdeccir.* (I am using the transcription system in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* [hereafter cited as *IA*] [10 vols. to date, Istanbul, 1940–].) The first term is used in one of the documents below and in Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet-ul-Kibār fi Esfār-il-Bihār* [The Gift of Noble Men from the Campaigns on the Seas] (Istanbul, 1141/1728), 18[a]–18[b]; and Müneccim başı, *Saḥā'if al-aḫbār* [The Records of Histories], Ottoman tr. Ahmed Nedim Efendi (3 vols., Istanbul, 1285/1868), III, 17. *Müdeccir* is the Ottomanized form of the Spanish *mudéjar* and is used by I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* [Ottoman History] (2d ed., 8 vols., Ankara, 1937–64), II, 201–202, n. 2. Further references are in Évariste Lévi-Provençal, "Moriscos," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (4 vols., Leiden, 1913–42), III, 577–78; and the second part of the article on the Moriscos by Cavid Baysun, "Moriskolar," *IA,* VIII, 428–29.

[7] This is the argument of both Castro, *Structure of Spanish History,* and Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949), 592–93.

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de Cisneros to convert the Muslims of Granada helped to produce a revolt that set the framework for the relations between the Islamic community and the Spanish government. Recognizing that the old policy of religious autonomy no longer existed, the Moriscos of the region of Alpujarras rebelled. Promptly defeated by Spanish troops in 1501, the Moors of Granada were then offered a choice of conversion or expulsion. One year later Isabella extended this policy to Castile, where on February 12, 1502, all Moriscos became nominal Christians since emigration was made practically impossible. A pause in official action followed until 1525 when Charles V purified the crown of Aragon by expanding the policy of compulsory Christianity to include the lands of that kingdom. Repeating the resistance of the region of Alpujarras, the Muslims of Valencia revolted, but, as in the south, imperial troops swiftly suppressed them. In this manner, the Islamic population in Spain officially disappeared; yet, covertly, they remained until a final effort drove them from the peninsula in the seventeenth century.[8]

Not only were the Moriscos to be converted; it also seemed that in the middle of the sixteenth century Spanish rulers everywhere faced political difficulties that involved religious opposition to the existence of Catholic Christendom. In North Africa and Hungary Habsburg troops faced Islam on the march under the leadership of the Ottomans. Central Germany was consumed with rebellion that combined Protestant heresy with the disobedience of German nobles. An always dangerous France, allying itself with the Ottomans during the reign of Charles V,[9] showed an alarming growth of Protestantism in the second half of the century. In the Netherlands in 1566, a well-organized militant Calvinism triggered a revolt that led to an exhaustive conflict on this northern frontier of the Habsburg Empire. And as the Netherlands broke into open rebellion, Protestant England added further difficulties by entering the conflict on the side of the Dutch. Accordingly, when the Moriscos rebelled in 1568, their revolt formed part of a widespread, political and religious movement against the Habsburgs and Catholic Christendom.[10]

The advance of hostile powers at the beginning of Philip II's reign

[8] See the two classic studies, representing different points of view, by Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain* (Philadelphia, 1901); and D. Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los Moriscos españoles y su expulsión* (2 vols., Valencia, 1901).

[9] The beginning of Ottoman-French relations is summarized in Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, II, 502–10. Two older works based on French sources are Jon Ursu, *La politique orientale de François I^er^* (Paris, 1908); and Pierre Heinrich, *L'alliance franco-algérienne au* XVI^e^ *siècle* (Lyons, 1898).

[10] J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469–1716* (New York, 1966), 228–37.

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tested the defenses of the Empire in all areas and, at the same time, raised the question of whether or not Islam had really left Spain. Although many Moriscos departed from the peninsula during the first half of that century, the vast majority had elected to remain as nominal Christians. By mid-century, efforts to ensure that these New Christians were indeed Christians had failed, and, while the Moriscos maintained their autonomy, Philip II not only experienced important defeats at the hands of the Ottomans in North Africa at Mostaganem (1558) and Jerba (1560) but also saw imperial rule in the Netherlands challenged by an iconoclastic upheaval in August 1566. With each demand for greater action on these northern and southern frontiers, the continued existence of a potentially disloyal minority at the center of the Empire became more dangerous.[11]

In the year of the rebellion in the Netherlands Philip II resumed the wars of the reconquest in Spain. Reviving old decrees never fully enforced, he commanded the use of Castilian in place of Arabic, the wearing of Castilian rather than Moorish clothing, and the cessation of other Morisco customs. The provocative character of his decrees soon produced a reaction,[12] and in 1568 the Moriscos of the region of Alpujarras again revolted against Christian rule. This time Spanish commanders were compelled to rely upon naval and military units from Italy before the rebellion was contained in 1570. Thereafter Philip II directed the dispersal of the Moriscos throughout Spain, but even this scattering of the opposition did not remove the alien civilization. The final solution occurred only when the Moriscos were expelled in 1609.[13]

The study of this failure to assimilate the Moriscos has, in general, emphasized internal political, religious, and social and economic differences rather than imperial reasons for the Habsburg actions against the Muslim minority. Yet Philip II and his Spanish officials raised a major issue involving international relations when they charged, in effect, that the Moors in Spain made up a fifth column that aided both the Ottoman advance

[11] See Lea, *Moriscos,* 83, 98–101, 144, 190–97, 271–91; K. Garrad, "The Original Memorial of Don Francisco Núñez Muley," *Atlante* (No. 2, 1954), 203, n. 4, 5, 6; Braudel, *Méditerranée,* 587, 590–91; see also the summary of Philip II's judgment on the Morisco problem and the international situation in Boronat, *Moriscos,* I, 278.

[12] The objections of the Morisco community are found in Garrad, "Memorial," 199–226. The Morisco correspondence with the Ottoman sultans, to be examined below, contains a summary of these complaints. See below and MD 9 89:231 (10 Z 977/Apr. 1570). The standard sources for the rebellion are Luís del Mármol Carvajal, *Rebelión y castigo de los Moriscos de Granada* (Madrid, 1852); and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada,* (Madrid, 1852). The modern work, based on Spanish sources and limited to Granada, is Julio Caro Baroja, *Los Moriscos del reino de Granada* (Madrid, 1959).

[13] Detailed information on the Morisco community before the expulsion of 1609 can be found in Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris, 1959).

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in North Africa and the Protestant cause in Europe.[14] Except for these claims, which may have been exaggerated, there is little evidence available of any international connection between the New Christians in Spain, the Protestant rebels, and the Ottoman Empire.[15] Now, however, the accessibility of Ottoman records can provide new information on the Morisco question and its relation to the centuries of dispute between Islam and Christianity.

From the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in the seventh century to the final expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, the close connection between *al-Andalus* and North Africa was striking. During eight and a half centuries of this Muslim history an uneven but more or less continuous exchange in population took place between the Maghrib and the Iberian Peninsula. Morocco, for example, was the staging area for Muslim raiders at the beginning of the Arab-Berber conquests in the eighth century and for Almoravid and Almohad warriors of the Berber empires in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Beyond the invasions and wars, which stimulated a north-south movement, trade, pilgrimage, and travel within the Muslim world led to repeated crossings over the narrow strip of water that divided Europe from Africa.[16] Nor did the movement of Muslims between Spain and North Africa cease when the reconquest eliminated the last Muslim state on the peninsula.[17] The enormous coastline, by sixteenth-century standards, that now had to be controlled presented the rulers of Spain with a military and naval problem that was never fully solved.[18] Soon after the

[14] Juan Reglá deals with this point in *Estudios sobre los Moriscos* (Valencia, 1964), 10–17, 139–57.

[15] Lea, *Moriscos,* 25, 36, 227, 231, 401, contends that religious pressure was the most important factor; he is supported by Mármol, *Rebelión,* 168–69. For a skeptical view of international interference after the rebellion of 1568, see John Lynch, *Spain under the Hapsburgs: Empire and Absolutism 1516–1598* (1 vol. to date, New York, 1964–), I, 209–10.

[16] See the map in Watt, *Islamic Spain,* 47. Almohad administrative organization placed the Maghrib and *al-Andalus* in one unit as has been shown in J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary* (London, 1958), 35–37.

[17] The difficult history of the Andalusian immigration to North Africa is presented in J. D. Latham, "The Reconstruction and Expansion of Tetuan: The Period of Andalucian Immigration," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb,* ed. George Makdisi (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 387–408; "Towards a Study of Andalucian Immigration and Its Place in Tunisian History," *Cahiers de Tunisie,* V (3e–4e trimestres, 1957), 203–52; "Andalus in North Africa," 486–503. Roger Le Tourneau, *Fez* (Norman, Okla., 1961), 8, 10, 114, provides information on the Andalusian influence in that city. For Algeria, the general account in Ottoman, written originally in Arabic, of Ali Riza Paşa, *Mir'at,* 2–18, 28–30, 43–49, is especially valuable.

[18] Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* IV, 88, 97–98; Lea, *Moriscos,* 272 ff.; Braudel, *Méditerranée,* 583–84; Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *Armada española desde la unión de los reinos de Castilla y de León* (9 vols., Madrid, 1895–1903), I, 277; II, 11, 45–48; III, 53, 132–33, 353; thorough coverages of the corsair age following the Battle of Lepanto are in Alberto Tenenti, *Naufrages, corsaires et assurances maritimes à Venise 1592–1609* (Paris, 1959), 12–44, and *Venezia e i corsari 1580–1615* (Bari, 1961), *passim;* and Salvatore Bono, *I corsari barbareschi* (Turin, 1964), 14–76, 77–135.

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reconquest, Muslims found that their Christian overlords could not block travel between the peninsula and North Africa.[19] Geography, it is true, aided the Habsburgs in the defense of Spain, but this did not mean that the geographical division between Europe and Africa formed an impenetrable boundary. The western frontier between Muslim and Christian, throughout most of the sixteenth century, was, rather, a fluid area including Islamic communities in southeastern Spain and Spanish forts on the coast of the Maghrib.

As the Christianization of Spain proceeded, the size of the refugee community of Moriscos in North Africa grew. A bitter group of artisans, merchants, and agriculturists looked across the straits to "their" land and longed for a victorious return.[20] Many of these expatriates settled in the cities of North Africa where they became one of the most violently anti-Christian groups among societies making up Islamic North Africa.[21] Motivated by revenge and enthusiasm for the holy war, the Andalusians became corsairs and participated in an increasing number of raids that plagued the shores of Spain from the reign of Charles V through the seventeenth century. Repeated privateering expeditions brought back to North Africa both material wealth and large numbers of refugees, which increased the strength of the Andalusian communities that dotted the Barbary coast.[22]

At the turn of the sixteenth century the Maghrib was the scene of both political decentralization and active frontier warfare. While Spain had taken advantage of Muslim weakness to establish outposts along the coast of the Maghrib—the leading edge of the Christian frontier—[23] the political vacuum

[19] Braudel, *Méditerranée,* 583–85.

[20] Castro, *Structure of Spanish History,* 93, 295, 375–77.

[21] Müneccim başı, *Ṣaḥā'if,* III, 260–61, links the defeated Andalusians with the rise of Muslim naval activity in the western Mediterranean. There is considerable evidence on this point; see, e.g., Diego de Haedo, *Topografía e historia general de Argel* (Madrid, 1927), 50–52; Muhammad al-Saghir ibn al-Haj ibn 'Abdallah al-'Ufrani, *Nozhet El-Hadi: Histoire de la dynastie saadienne au Maroc (1511–1670),* ed. and tr. O. V. Houdas (Paris, 1889), 90; Edmond Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb* (Algiers, 1924), 390–91; Paul Ruff, *La domination espagnole à Oran* (Paris, 1900), 1–11; Duro, *Armada,* I, 45–46; Fernand Braudel, "Les Espagnoles et l'Afrique du Nord de 1492 à 1577," *Revue africaine,* LXIX (1928), 184–234, 351–428; Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (2 vols., Casablanca, 1949–50), I, 130–32.

[22] Auguste Cour, *L'établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc et leur rivalité avec les Turcs de la régence d'Alger au* XVII^e *siècle* (Paris, 1904), 50; the Italian intelligence report in 1587 on the Maghrib coast, ed. Charles Monchichourt and tr. Pierre Grandchamp, Lanfreducci et Bosio, "Costa e descorsi di Barberia," *Revue africaine,* LXVI (1925), 419–549; Francisco de Laiglesia, *Estudios históricos (1515–1555)* (Madrid, 1908), 95–105; Braudel, *Méditerranée,* 583–85; Bono, *Corsari,* 14–76. The impact of this growth on a Moroccan traveler is in Abou-l-Hasan Ali Ben Muhammad Et-Tamgrouti, *En-Nafhat El-Miskiya Fi-s-Sifarat Et-Tourkiya 1589–1591* [The Report on the Mission to Turkey 1589–1591], tr. Henry De Castries (Paris, 1929), 75–78.

[23] Ruff, *Domination espagnole,* 1–5; Henri DeGrammont, *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque (1516–1830)* (Paris, 1887), 1–19; José M. Doussinague, *La política exterior de España en el siglo* XVI (Madrid, 1949), 9 ff.

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in the Maghrib and the proximity of North Africa to Mediterranean commercial centers also had attracted Muslim frontier warriors, *ġazis*.[24] Within a short time an irregular war, conducted for Islam by corsairs, *levends*,[25] once again turned the North African coast into an important frontier between the northern and southern halves of the Mediterranean. Most accomplished among the leaders of Muslim galleys at this time were the Barbarossa brothers (Hayreddin and Aruj/Oruç).[26] Early in the first quarter of the century the Barbarossas established an enclave of corsairs in the central Maghrib. There, in Cherchel, and in other coastal cities the privateers found willing allies among Andalusian exiles, who also were interested in the holy war. Cooperation between corsairs, refugees from Spain, and local war parties led to assistance for Morisco immigration and to more effective raiding of the southeastern shores of Spain.[27] Later in the century, when the Ottomans turned their attention to North Africa, the

[24] This is the title given to those who dedicated themselves to war against the infidel on the frontiers. ("Gazi," *IA,* IV, 753.) The importance of this institution in the rise of the Ottoman Empire is enormous. (Wittek, *Rise of the Ottoman Empire,* 1–53; Halik Inalcık, "Padişah," *IA,* IX, 491–95.) For some idea of the strength of this institution in Algeria, see Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Mevā'id-ün-Nefā'is fi Kavā'id-il-Mecālis* [Examples of Etiquette for the Guidance of Society] (Istanbul, 1956), 54–56; and the eighteenth-century Ottoman historian Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf Aḥısḳavī, "Tārīḫ-i-Cezā'ir veya tehzīb-üt-tevārīḫ" [The History of Algeria or the Correction of Chronicles], Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, No. 955, fol. 2^a, who writes that most of the Ottomans in Algeria carried the title *ġāzī,* belonged to the *ḥanafī* school of law, and were *rūmī mevlūd,* which probably means they were born in Europe.

[25] *Levend* has several meanings in Ottoman sources. Here it designates the Muslim corsairs who were part of the Islamic-Christian frontier system in the Mediterranean. In summer campaigns the *levends* formed an irregular part of the Ottoman fleet. (I. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Levend," *IA,* VII, 46–48; Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler* [*Levends* in Ottoman History] [Istanbul, 1965], 170–88.)

[26] Most histories of Hayreddin Barbarossa's life are based on the *ġazavat nameler* [Holy War Accounts], which were written during the reign of Süleyman I to celebrate the exploits of this famous admiral. (See Agah Sırrı Levend, *Ġazavāt-Nāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Beyin Ġazavāt nāmesi* [Holy War Accounts and the Holy War Account of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey] [Ankara, 1956], 70–77, for a list of the various manuscripts; secondary sources on Hayreddin can be found in Enver Ziya Karal, "Barbaros Hayreddin Paşa," *IA,* II, 211–15.)

[27] The Barbarossa brothers were defeated in their first effort to control the central Maghrib. Aruj was killed in the autumn of 1518 while attempting to hold Tlemsen. (Tayyib Gökbiligin, "Oruç Reis," *IA,* IX, 419–25.) At the same time local opposition forced Hayreddin to evacuate Algiers and return to Cherchel where he spent five years building his forces. There many of the corsairs who made up Hayreddin's raiding parties were Moriscos. When Hayreddin returned to Algiers, his galleys made a special effort to carry refugees from Spain to the Maghrib. The political advantages for the Muslim "war party" of this migration were recognized by both sides. (Sander Rang and J. F. Denis, *Fondation de la régence d'Alger, histoire des Berberousse* [2 vols., Paris, 1837], I, 21–283; Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet,* 11^a–17^b; Nuri Paşa, *Netā'ic,* I, 157–58; Ali Reza Paşa, *Mir'at,* 10–16; El-Djilani, *El Zohrat el Nayerat, Chroniques de la régence d'Alger,* tr. Alphonse Rousseau [Algiers, 1841], 13–87; Muḥammad Bayram, *Ṣafwata'l'itibār* [The Essence of Consideration] [4 vols., Cairo, 1302/1884], IV, 7–8; 'Ali Muḥammad Ḥammudah, *Tārīḫ al-Andalus* [The History of *al-Andalus*] [Cairo, 1957], 302; Haedo, *Topografía,* 50–52, 91–92; Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc,* I, 130–45; Ruff, *Domination espagnole,* 1–70; DeGrammont, *Histoire d'Alger,* 1–4; Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* II, 130–33, 296–97; Braudel, *Méditerranée,* 583–89; Duro, *Armada,* I, 45–46, 158–59.)

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sultans would link Ottoman power to this frontier reaction against Christian expansion.[28]

Political developments in the western Mediterranean were watched by the sultans, for both the conquest of Egypt and the growth of Ottoman naval power pointed toward western ventures. Anticipating expansion into North Africa, Süleyman the Lawgiver aided Maghrib corsairs who, by 1529, had seized important sections of the North African coastline. But aside from supplying arms, ammunition, and men requested by the corsairs,[29] the Ottomans did not establish direct connections with their leader, Hayreddin Barbarossa, until Charles V sent his admiral, Andrea Doria, east in a raid on the Morea during the naval season in 1532.[30] Reacting to this challenge, Süleyman I shifted his attention from Germany to the Mediterranean where the initial success of the raid of the Habsburgs had exposed incompetent naval leadership. An imperial messenger was sent promptly to the Maghrib with an order inviting Hayreddin and his corsair captains to Istanbul. In 1534 the Sultan appointed Hayreddin, rather than his rival, Lutfi Paşa, grand admiral of the Ottoman fleet. Hayreddin then brought under the Sultan's control not only the corsairs of North Africa but also the territories he had conquered in the Maghrib.[31] Hitherto the Adriatic and most of the Mediterranean had separated Charles V and Süleyman I; now the frontiers of the two Empires closed as the Ottomans moved to reduce the gap between their outpost in Algeria and the rest of the Empire while the Habsburgs acted to defend themselves against Muslim conquerors who

[28] Resistance to Spanish and Portuguese imperialism in North Africa was by no means universal. For examples of cooperation, see Rang and Denis, *Fondation de la régence,* I, 190–91, 209–19, 270–75; Rousseau, *Chroniques,* 40–68; Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet,* 11[a]–18[b], 20[a]–20[b], 33[a]–33[b], 45[a]–45[b]; Lutfi Paşa, *Tevārīḫ-i-Āl-i 'Oṣmān* [A History of the Ottoman Dynasty] (Istanbul, 1341/1922), 356–57; Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tārīḫ-ı-Selānikī* [Selaniki's History] (Istanbul, 1281/1864), 115–18; Ibrahim Peçevi, *Tārīḫ-i-'Osmānī* [Ottoman History] (2 vols., Istanbul, 1283/1866), I, 348–49, 491–95, 501–502; 42–55; Fagnan, *Extraits,* 380–81; Ibn Ġalbūn, *Ta'rīḫ Ṭarāblus al-Garb* [A History of Tripoli of North Africa] Cairo, 1349/1930), 93–96.

[29] Rang and Denis, *Fondation de la régence,* I, 132–33; and Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet,* 12[b]–13[a].

[30] Aside from Hayreddin's own account and Piri Reis, *Kitab-ı-Bahriye* [A Book of Naval Lore] (Istanbul, 1935), 634, 639, there is little mention of his exploits in Ottoman histories, written during or slightly after his lifetime, until he became admiral of the Ottoman fleet in 1534. Lutfi Paşa, *Tevārīḫ,* 343–45; Celālzāde Muṣṭafā Çelebī, "Ṭabaḳāt-ul-memālik ve deracāt-ul-mesālik" [The Classes of Provinces and the Degrees of Routes], fols. 264[b]–66[a], Istanbul University Library, TY 5997; and Müneccim başı, *Ṣaḥā'if,* II, 489–90, all report that Hayreddin went to Istanbul in 1534 to add Algeria to the Ottoman Empire and to lead the Ottoman fleet. For a similar Spanish view, see Laiglesia, *Estudios,* 93–162. Louis Berbrugger (*Le Pégnon d'Alger* [Algiers, 1860], 5–105) saw 1529 as the beginning of the Ottoman government in Algeria. Yet the capture of the Spanish fort guarding the harbor of Algiers did not lead to any important Ottoman decisions regarding North Africa.

[31] For what it meant to be a slave, *ḳūl,* of the sultan, and therefore an Ottoman, see Heyd, *Ottoman Documents,* 72, n. 5, and the references therein.

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were advancing toward the North African staging area for an invasion of Spain.

The military operations of the Ottomans in North Africa up to mid-century gave the Moriscos in Spain and the Andalusians in North Africa some encouragement. As soon as Algeria became part of the Empire, Hayreddin acted to free the new Ottoman territory from its isolation. Striking westward at Tunis, he aimed, through the seizure of the eastern Maghrib, to expand Ottoman control of North Africa and to open up the western basin of the Mediterranean to the Sultan's fleet.[32] Charles V, reacting quickly to this major Ottoman expansion, led a determined counterthrust, in 1535, that defeated Hayreddin's troops and took the city of Tunis. Then, to block the westward movement of the Ottomans, Habsburg commanders erected a defense line across the Mediterranean narrows from Sicily to Tunisia, including the crusading forts at Malta and Tripoli. In addition to garrisoning troops in La Goletta, the fort guarding the harbor at Tunis,[33] Charles V decided to deepen his control over this strategic corner of the eastern Maghrib by supporting the Hafsid dynasty, then in the last stages of decline.[34] Once his Mediterranean defenses were in order, the Emperor turned to northern problems while waiting for an opportunity to destroy the main Ottoman base to the west of his Mediterranean front, the stronghold that Hayreddin had established in the city of Algiers.[35] Six years after the Habsburg entrenchment in Tunisia, Charles V launched his naval campaign against the western Mediterranean edge of the Ottoman Empire. Late in the naval season of 1541 Christian galleys assembled in front of Algiers only to be disorganized by a violent winter storm that forced the Christians to retreat with a major loss of men and equipment. The Habsburg disaster encouraged the French who, in alliance with the Ottomans, resumed the Habsburg-Valois wars along the northern edge of the Mediterranean. In North Africa large-scale fighting diminished, but Ottoman warriors on the border continued their raids against Christian shipping and at the same

[32] Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet*, 20[a]–20[b], listed the reasons for Hayreddin's occupation of Tunis. The grand admiral had argued that besides providing a secure port, the seizure of Tunis would allow the Ottomans to winter the fleet in a well-guarded harbor.

[33] The fort at Tunis is called Ḥalḳ ul Vād in Ottoman sources.

[34] Pablo Álvarez Rubiano, "La política imperial española y su relación con los Hafsides tunecinos, nuevos datos para su estudio," *Hispania*, III (Apr.–June 1941), 32–46.

[35] Heyreddin defeated the naval arm of the Holy League of 1538 at Prevesa. Thereafter Charles V restricted his naval activities to the western Mediterranean. (H. G. Koenigsberger, "The Empire of Charles V in Europe," in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, II, *The Reformation, 1520–1559*, ed. G. R. Elton [12 vols. to date, Cambridge, Eng., 1958–], 301–33; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, II, 455–518.)

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time quietly extended their control over the coast and interior of the eastern and central Maghrib.[36]

At mid-century the Sultan's viziers began to show a decided interest in expansion into the western Mediterranean. Ottoman commanders now struck regularly at Habsburg defensive positions and commercial traffic in the western Mediterranean. The year 1551 marked the fall of the southernmost anchor of the Christian mid-Mediterranean defense line as Turghud Paşa took Tripoli.[37] On land Salih Paşa, the Ottoman governor of Algeria (1552–1556), led his troops into Fez for a four-month stay at the end of 1554; then, turning to the eastern Maghrib in 1555, his forces took the Spanish fort at Bougie.[38] While Ottoman land actions tightened a noose around Tunis, Piyale Paşa, the Ottoman grand admiral, climaxed a growing onslaught on Habsburg defenses by leading, during the summer of 1558, a large galley fleet of about 150 vessels from Istanbul to Minorca where Ottoman troops landed and burned the city of Cuidadela, only 150 miles from the coast of Spain.[39] In the same year Ottoman troops in Algeria routed Spanish and Moroccan columns at Mostaganem, ending the use of Oran as an offensive base.[40] With both land and sea defenses failing before a resolute Ottoman imperialism, Philip II's commanders in the east gathered a large fleet with the intention of rolling back the westward expansion of the Muslim Empire. In 1560 Habsburg galleys sought to plug the holes in the mid-Mediterranean frontier by driving Muslim corsairs from the area around the island of Jerba, but the skillful employment of the fleet, led by Piyale Paşa, resulted in a major victory for the Ottomans.[41] The naval season of 1560 ended ominously for Spain.

It is strange, however, that the defeat at Jerba marked a decline in naval activity on both sides of the Mediterranean. In the Muslim half, Anatolian

[36] For this period in the history of the central Maghrib, see Aziz Samih Ilter, *Şimali Afrika'da Türkler* [Turks in North Africa] (2 vols., Istanbul, 1937), I, 114–28; and Cour, *Établissement,* 74–104.

[37] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi,* II, 384–90, gives the basic information from the Ottoman side; Braudel, *Méditerranée,* 739–42, sees the strategic importance of Tripoli in terms of the North African situation.

[38] Cour, *Établissement,* 87–131; Ilter, *Şimali,* I, 128–34.

[39] On this event, see Duro, *Armada,* II, 10–22. Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet,* 33[a]–33[b], describes Piyale's exploits; other sources are given in the article by Şerafeddin Turan, "Piyale Paşa," *IA,* IX, 566–69.

[40] Ruff, *Domination espagnole,* 144–69.

[41] Some idea of the "Westernization" of the naval history of the Mediterranean can be gathered by comparing the historical treatment of the Battles of Jerba and Lepanto. Although no immediate, permanent changes resulted from either of the two battles, both were major victories; yet, except for the detailed work of Charles Monchicourt, *L'expédition espagnole de 1560 contre l'île de Djerba* (Paris, 1913), it is Lepanto, not the Muslim victory at Jerba, that holds the overwhelming attention of historians.

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disturbances,[42] the old age of the Sultan, and the lack of competition from the Habsburgs resulted in a low level of coordination among the Ottomans, which was reflected in the halfhearted siege of Malta in 1565. On the Christian side of the Mediterranean, Philip II successfully resupplied Malta during the Ottoman assault, but he allowed no counterattack to follow the Muslim withdrawal. One year after the relief of Malta, moreover, religious rioting in the Netherlands announced the beginning of major internal difficulties on the northern frontier of the Habsburg Empire. Finally, the death of the tenth sultan in the Ottoman line during the same year, 1566, ushered in a period of inaction as rulers and ruled assessed the strength of the new Ottoman Sultan, Selim II.

In the first years of Selim II's sultanate the residue of failure at Malta and the abortive Russian campaign in 1569 precipitated a general debate among the leaders of the Ottoman state concerning the direction of expansion.[43] Distant borders in Hungary and Iran produced major supply problems and difficult campaigning. Imperial advisers, after much discussion, therefore, turned to the most important remaining area in which summer campaigning was still fairly easy: the Mediterranean. Despite warnings that the Christians would unite if Venetian positions were attacked, Selim II approved plans to reactivate sea operations with an assault on Cyprus.[44] While the navy prepared to battle for control over the sea-lanes in the southeastern Mediterranean, Selim strengthened his western naval frontier. In June 1568 Kılıç Ali Paşa, one of the most able and aggressive Ottoman naval captains, became the governor of Algeria.[45] These actions began the last phase of Ottoman-Habsburg competition in the Mediterranean. Ten

[42] Internal difficulties in the last years of Süleyman I's reign, mirrored in the disputes between his sons, are covered by Şerafeddin Turan, *Kanuni'nin Oğlu Şehzade Bayezid Vak'ası* [The Affair of Prince Bayezid, Son of Süleyman the Lawgiver] (Ankara, 1961).

[43] The beginning of Ottoman-Russian relations is described in an article by Halil Inalcık, "The Origin of the Ottoman-Russian Rivalry and the Don-Volga Canal (1569)," *Belletin,* XII (No. 46, 1948), 47–100. The Turkish version of this article is on pages 349–402 of the same volume.

[44] Ottoman viziers split on whether to invade Cyprus. Mehmet Sokollu led the party that argued for expansion in North Africa, while Lala Mustafa Paşa, Piyale Paşa, and Hoca Sinan Paşa formed the group in favor of invading Cyprus. Although emotion and ambition undoubtedly were present, the decision to seize Cyprus involved more than personal antagonisms. (See the following sources for some of the strategic reasons: Selaniki, *Tārīḫ,* 100; Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* [4 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1948–52], III, 878–949; Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Mehmed Paşa," *IA,* VII, 595–605; Bekir Kütükoğlu, "Mustafa Paşa," *ibid.,* VIII, 732–36.)

[45] Kılıç Ali Paşa had built up a successful record as a North African corsair under Turgud Paşa (Dragud). He was appointed to his post in Algeria after religious rioting broke out in the Netherlands (1566), just before the Morisco revolt exploded in 1568, and while Mehmed Sokollu, an advocate of expansion in North Africa, was still in favor. There seems to be little question that Kılıç Ali Paşa's appointment (MD 7 578:1625 [2 M 976/June 1568]) was connected with a policy of Ottoman expansion in North Africa. (For further Ottoman sources and a short summary of his life, see Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu, "Kılıç Ali Paşa," *IA,* VI, 679–81.)

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years after the start of this Muslim offensive, Ottoman warriors would bring the administration of another powerful Islamic state close to the southern shores of Spain.

While the military might of the eastern Islamic Empire grew in North Africa and the power of the Ottoman navy crept closer to the Iberian Peninsula, the tensions between Moriscos and Christians moved toward a climax. The size and economic position of the unassimilated Muslim community clashed with national and religious sentiments deepened by the internal problems of Spanish society, now affected by the forces of an imperial economy created by the Habsburgs.[46] But a historically based fear was far more important than the internal strains dividing the two communities. Transcending concerns for religious purity and economic advantage, the Muslim advance in the Maghrib vigorously raised the issue of security. If Ottoman power reached the Strait of Gibraltar, how loyal would the Moriscos be?[47]

In spring 1570 Ottoman scribes registered in the record book of important affairs two commands that confirmed Ottoman involvement in the second rebellion of the region of Alpujarras (1568–1570).[48] Both documents bear the dispatch date of 10 *Zilḳade* 977/April 16, 1570, the day they were handed over to the imperial messenger, Cezayirli Halil *Çavuş*,[49] for transportation to North Africa. First in order of registration is an imperial command to the governor (*Beylerbey*) of Algeria,[50] Kılıç Ali Paşa,[51] that concerned the

[46] Braudel, *Méditerranée,* 374–420; Garrad, "Original Memorial," 203.

[47] The potential disloyalty of the Moriscos continued to bother the Spanish until the Muslims were expelled. No doubt some of the charges raised against the Moriscos were exaggerated for political or emotional reasons. (Braudel, *Méditerranée,* 586–87, 590–92, 894; Lea, *Moriscos,* 190–97, 271–91; Castro, *Structure of Spanish History,* 57, 90–93. For the magnification of the Protestant "danger" in Spain, see Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* [4 vols., New York, 1906–1907], III, 411–79; and Lynch, *Spain,* I, 209–10.) On the other hand, one ought to note that the English were much concerned with diplomatic maneuvers that would involve the Ottomans in the internal problems of Spain. For this activity, which followed the Ottoman-Spanish Treaty of 1580, see Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türk-Ingiliz Münasebetlerinin Başlangıcı ve Gelişmesi 1553–1610* [The Origin and Development of Turkish-English Relations 1553–1610] (Ankara, 1953), 118–61.

[48] The two orders are MD 9 77:204 (10 Z 977) and MD 9 89:231 (10 Z 977). Both of these documents have been transcribed into printed Ottoman and published in the periodical *Ta'rīḫ-i 'Oṣmānī Encümeni Mecmū'asi,* I (1912), 220–22. There are numerous misspellings and important omissions in the transcribed orders, for example, the dropping of *müsellah* (armed) in line 3 of MD 9 89:231 in the printed copy. Here, all translations are from the archival documents.

[49] *Çavuş* or messenger in this case. Further information on this position in the Ottoman administration can be found in Stanford J. Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt in the Age of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 87–89.

[50] The full title in the "Mühimme" registers for the governor of Algeria is *cezā'ir-i-ġarb beğlerbeğisi,* as used in MD 5 94:215 (12 S 973). For the general details concerning this position, see Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt,* 74.

[51] *Paşa* (Arabic *Başa*) was an honorific conferred upon Ottomans of two-horsetail rank and above. This included governors and viziers during the sixteenth century.

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Sultan's interest in the Morisco revolt. The second order is an imperial command, addressed to the Andalusians, dealing with the question of Ottoman aid for the embattled Muslim population in Granada.

Though the original petition from the Moriscos has not yet been discovered, the summary of previous events,[52] at the head of the Sultan's orders, described the main elements of Philip II's attack on Morisco customs[53] and outlined the early stages of the Muslim rebellion in which Ottomans had already participated. Writing to the Andalusians, the Sultan said:

> You have informed [me] . . . that now 20,000 armed men in number have come into being and an unarmed 100,000 are [also] certain and that, with the arrival of an amount of arms from Algeria, confidence has been produced and many defeats have been given to the evil-acting Unbelievers.[54]

A letter from Kılıç Ali Paşa also confirmed this information and added some news about political conditions in other areas of the Habsburg Empire.

> Order to the Governor of Algeria, Ali Paşa: You have sent a letter to my Sublime Court and have informed me saying that . . . the Lutheran sect has brought together a large body of troops and has pillaged and plundered the provinces of the tyrannical and accursed Spanish, has taken their lands, and has defeated [them]. Also from this area, since the Andalusians, Islamic people, have revolted, the leaders of the accursed Unbelievers have been roughly handled [*Ḳāsīn olūb*] and they have been in a state of disorder. Previously they had gathered a great force and had attacked the Andalusian people, and, by the grace of God, a victory had taken place. From this area troops and arms have been sent, assistance has been given, and the provinces of the tyrannical and accursed Unbelievers are not free from being looted.[55]

[52] Text in MD 9 89:231 (10 Z 977).

[53] *Ibid.*, lines 1–2. More detailed information on this matter can be found in Garrad, "Original Memorial," 199–226; and Baroja, *Moriscos*, 141–69.

[54] MD 9 77:204 (10 Z 977), lines 2–5. In all probability the Muslim leaders inflated their numbers. It is interesting that the Morisco figures are well under estimates of 150,000 and 600,000–800,000, as reported in Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 586, 894, and fit fairly well with the population statistics given in Garrad, "Original Memorial," 209, n. 1, for Granada. Even if one cuts the Morisco figures in half, the Muslim units, and the geographic advantages they enjoyed, made them a first-class military problem in the sixteenth century. If one adds international difficulties he gets some idea of why the Habsburg government was so concerned about this internal danger.

[55] In MD 9 77:204 (10 Z 977), line 2, Lutheran (*Lūṭrān*) means those who rebelled both against the Pope's direction of the Christian community and against the political powers supporting the Pope. Ottomans, who saw Christian developments in terms of Islamic concepts, did not, in these sources, distinguish between the various Protestant groups. (See Peçevi, *Tārīḫ*, I, 415; 'Ali, "Künh," IV, fols. 241^{b}–42^{a}; and Mehmed, *Nuḫbet*, 118. Maurice Boyd, *Cardinal Quiroga, Inquisitor General of Spain* [Dubuque, Iowa, 1954], 52, n. 55, reports that the Inquisition employed the same terminology.) The entire quotation is from MD 9 77:204 (10 Z 977), lines 1–6. For the character of the war in Granada and its connection with North Africa from Spanish materials, see Baroja, *Moriscos*, 180–204. Reports on the same question from French and English agents are in *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, 1re série: Dynastie Saadienne (1530–1660)*, ed. Henry de Castries *et al.* (18 vols., Paris, 1905–), Subser. 1, I, 286–87, 293–97; Subser. 3, I, 88–89, 104.

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The introductory portions of both orders show that Selim II had been informed in detail of the Morisco revolt before the spring of 1570 and that the governor of Algeria had acted to support the rebellion by supplying arms and ammunition. Whether or not the reinforcements from North Africa were part of an Ottoman plan or an independent act by the governor of Algeria is not clear. Finally, the news concerning the "Lutherans" gave the Sultan some interesting intelligence regarding Philip II's European frontier.

The gains that could be achieved by aiding a revolt against the Habsburgs at one end of the Mediterranean while attacking the Venetians at the other end were too great to ignore, and Selim II encouraged the rebels. But the Ottoman effort in the western Mediterranean was to be delayed, for while "previously it had been the royal intention that the imperial fleet was to be sent to that area and all assistance and help were to be given to Islamic peoples,"[56] the Christians on Cyprus, which was in the center of the Empire, had violated their treaty with the Sultan. Cyprus, according to the Sultan, had become the major base for the Christian corsairs who raided the important naval traffic that followed the Levant coast. Besides disrupting the commerce of the eastern Mediterranean, the privateers had seized pilgrims who were on their way to the Holy Cities and had taken part of the Sultan's tax revenue from the rich province of Egypt. Only by taking Cyprus could this threat to the practice of the faith and to the integrity of the Empire be eliminated.[57] Since the decision to conquer Cyprus would require the use of the fleet, Ottoman galleys could not support the Morisco rebellion at this time; when the infidels were defeated, however, "it has been resolved [that] for My continued success, the imperial fleet will be sent to that region."[58] The Moriscos were assured, meanwhile, that the governor of Algeria had been instructed to render all assistance possible. Thus, the accompanying order to Kılıç Ali Paşa admonished him to support the Moriscos. "Now you will be prepared and ready to give all aid and

[56] MD 9 77:204 (10 Z 977), lines 7–8.

[57] *Ibid.*, lines 8–13. These are Ottoman reasons for the attack on Cyprus. See note 44, above, and Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet*, 39[b]; Ahmed Feridun Bey, *Münşa'āt-us-Salāṭīn* [The Writs of Sultans] (2 vols., Istanbul, 1275/1858), II, 550–52. Feridun's work, the full title of which is a chronogram for the year of its completion, 982, is a two-volume collection of state papers of great importance for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When it was discovered that some documents, reputed to have been composed in the reign of the first two Ottoman sultans, were copied from materials pertaining to an earlier Central Asian dynasty, the originality of the entire work was questioned. Subsequent scholarship has shown, however, that the collection, with all its additions, is a highly reliable source. For further details, see J. H. Mordtmann and V. L. Ménage, "Feridun Beg," *EI*[2], II, 881–82. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, III, 878–88, notes that the Morisco rebellion was a factor in the Ottoman decision to invade the Venetian island.

[58] MD 9 89:231 (10 Z 977), line 17.

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assistance to that region, whether it be the sending of victorious troops or the giving of arms and ammunition."[59] Concluding paragraphs to both orders warned the respective commanders to continue the struggle against the unbeliever, to beware of the enemy, and to keep the Sultan informed of events in the western Mediterranean.

When drafts of the imperial orders were given to Halil *Çavuş* in April 1570, the Sultan, who was never inhibited when it came to emphasizing his military prowess, included no mention of Kılıç Ali Paşa's seizure of Tunis during January 1570. Yet the activity of the Ottomans in the western Mediterranean from the conquest of Tunis by Barbarossa in 1534 to the siege of Malta in 1565 pointed to the consolidation of the Ottoman position in Algeria, to which Tunis was the key, as the basic policy of the sultans in North Africa. One wonders if Selim II was well enough informed to know that the frontier revolt of the Moriscos had little chance of success and, therefore, did not wish to discourage the Spanish Muslims by announcing that Tunis had a greater priority than Andalusia.[60]

Regular Habsburg units, commanded by Don Juan, demolished the last of the organized Morisco bands by autumn 1570; thereafter the insurrection in Granada slowly died out. While Philip II dealt with this internal war, the Ottomans conquered Cyprus (1570–1571) and all but achieved a unified North Africa with the capture of Tunis (1570). In the case of Cyprus, the military operations in Granada distracted and delayed joint action by Christian fleets until early in the fall of 1571 when Don Juan won a major naval victory at Lepanto.[61] On the other side of the Mediterranean Kılıç Ali's occupation of Tunis was more directly assisted by the Morisco revolt. Responsibility for the eastern defenses of the Habsburg Empire in the Mediterranean rested upon the commanders of the provinces in Sicily and Italy; it was these regions, already depleted by the need for troops in the Netherlands, that had to provide the regular soldiers and galleys for the suppression

[59] *Ibid.*, lines 17–19.

[60] Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 899–932, argues that the Ottomans, without discouraging the Moriscos, concentrated on Cyprus and Tunis rather than Andalusia. From the beginning of Ottoman expansion the key to success had been a dispassionate determination of formal policy followed by well-coordinated military action on one frontier. In the case of the Moriscos, had Cyprus been taken with ease and had the Christians remained divided, the Ottomans would probably have turned to North Africa before 1574 and provided the Moriscos with a higher level of support than they did. Whether this would have involved an invasion of Spain is impossible to determine. No doubt the Sultan would have consolidated his position in North Africa first. For histories of this event from the Arab point of view, which are not anti-Ottoman, see Yaḥyā bū 'Azīz, *Ta'riḫ al-Jazā'ir* [A History of Algeria] (Cairo, 1965), 9–10; and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ben Muḥammad al-Jīlālī, *Ta'riḫ al-Jazā'ir al-'Āmm* [A General History of Algeria] (2 vols., Algiers, 1955), II, 342.

[61] Hill, *History of Cyprus*, II, 904–49.

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of the Muslim revolt in Spain.[62] As Habsburg units moved to the west, Janizaries marched into Tunis.

In the winter of 1573 Don Juan retook the city of Tunis and began the last stage in the Ottoman-Habsburg military contest for North Africa. It is ironic that the Habsburg reconstruction of its mid-century frontier provided the Ottomans with an ideal objective for the spring naval campaign of the following year. Since the defeat in the Battle of Lepanto three years before, the Sultan's shipyards and arsenals, under the direction of Kılıç Ali Paşa and Mehmed Sokollu, had engaged in a remarkable rebuilding of the Ottoman navy.[63] The renewal of the fleet and the Spanish presence in Tunis permitted Selim II to issue orders, early in 1574, for a major naval campaign that would consolidate the Maghrib under Ottoman administration and would gain revenge for the defeat at Lepanto.[64] Strong Spanish forts guarding the harbor of Tunis and the proximity of Habsburg Sicily, however, presented the Ottoman military commanders with a difficult assignment. As planning for the spring campaign of 1574 progressed, it was not surprising that the Sultan turned his attention to the western edge of the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier. Perhaps the military forces of Philip II again could be tied down in the suppression of another rebellion while the Ottoman fleet attacked Tunis.

Buried deep in the second volume of a collection of state papers, gathered together as a model of proper scribal style, is a vizierial letter to the people of Andalusia.[65] The document, which appears along with a series of orders and letters concerning North African affairs,[66] carries no date. From internal evidence it is possible to assign the time of its composition to the period after the decision to reconquer Tunis—early 1574—and before the first of the Ottoman victories that summer.[67] This vizierial communication was probably prepared or at least approved by Feridun Bey;[68] its intent was to employ

[62] Braudel, *Méditerranée,* 897–99; Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* IV, 92–93. MD 12 571:1088 (7 ZA 979/Mar. 1572) records the transfer of Kılıç Ali Paşa from the post of governor of Algeria to that of grand admiral.

[63] The rebuilding program was another reflection of Ottoman strength. Ottoman historians celebrate this ability in Selaniki, *Tārīḫ,* 109; Peçevi, *Tārīḫ,* I, 498–500; Mehmed, *Nuḫbet,* 124–25; and Kâtib Çelebi, *Tuhfet,* 44^{a}–44^{b}.

[64] In February 1574 the Sultan wrote the governor of Algeria that the imperial fleet would arrive at Tunis during the summer. (MD 23 300:658 [18 L 981].)

[65] Feridun, Münşa'āt, II, 550–52.

[66] On North African materials, cf. *ibid.,* 568–69; MD 18 135–36:288 (19 L 979). These two documents are the same except for more elaborate titles and a bit more detail in the *Münşa'āt* copy.

[67] Feridun, *Münşa'āt,* II, 551, lines 28–30, ends the Sultan's list of military developments. Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türk-Ingiliz,* 152, dates this document as 1573–1574. The numerous entries in MD 24 mobilizing the military might of the Ottomans begin early in 1574.

[68] Feridun Bey was appointed to the position of *Nişancı* (Keeper of the Seal) from his

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the Moriscos again in the grand strategic plans of the Sultan. The political dimensions of the struggle now, however, extended well beyond the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa.

The royal letter to the Andalusians brought the history of Ottoman-Morisco relations from the assault on Cyprus to the decision to retake Tunis.

> Then, when winter was at hand, the Spanish fleet, instigating Arabs from the home of crime on opposite shores, had invaded the city of Tunis in alliance and agreement with them. The imperial fleet has, therefore, turned toward that region this year in continuance of victory, in order to save Tunis and to conquer the forts named Ḥalḳ-ul-Vād.[69]

The letter went on to explain that since Ottoman arms had overcome certain difficulties in the eastern Mediterranean—the defeat at Lepanto and the resistance on Cyprus[70]—the Sultan could now turn his attention toward the oppressions laid upon the people of Andalusia. Re-emphasizing the connection between North Africa and Spain, the viziers directed the establishment of an espionage network between Spain and Algeria in order that the Ottomans and Moriscos might coordinate their efforts against the Christians.

> Therefore our man, whose name is not revealed [*Maḥrem nām adamız*], from the special servants of the Empire and who is knowledgeable of those regions, has been sent to you with a book that shows [our] friendship. When our above-mentioned man arrives, God willing, may He be exalted, all of you shall consult together in good agreement and complete unity. Also, if in whatever year and time you will have the ability and power to move on and attack the enemies of religion with the zeal of the Evident Religion, accordingly you shall, with the knowledge of our above-mentioned man, send your men to the Threshold of Felicity [Istanbul] from the direction of Algeria. You shall communicate in detail with one another in order that the preparations of the enemies of evil repute shall be known, that [aid] will arrive for you by sea and land on the time that was appointed and assigned, and that they [the Algerians] will render every assistance.[71]

post as chief of the secretaries in December 1573 and was not dismissed from office until April 1576. (Mordtmann and Ménage, "Feridun Beg," *EI*², II, 881–82.)

[69] Feridun, *Münşa'āt,* II, 551, line 27. As a regular part of their frontier policy, the Habsburgs encouraged the Arab and Berber opponents of the Ottomans. Now that the Christians held a temporary advantage, they proceeded to incite the Beni 'Abbās and the Arab tribesmen who supported the Hafsid dynasty to revolt against the Ottomans. (Ilter, *Şimali,* II, 153–56.) An order, issued on August 13, 1573, warned Vizier Piyale Paşa that the Spanish, along with their Arab allies, might attack Tunis. (MD 22 215:416 [14 R 981/Aug. 13, 1573].) For Spanish activities among the Arabs and Berbers in Tunisia and Algeria, see Pablo Alvarez Rubiano, "Política imperial," 32–46; and Ruff, *Domination espagnole, passim.* The entire quotation is from Feridun, *Münşa'āt,* II, 551, lines 27–29. La Goletta/Ḥalḳ-ul-Vād with its supporting forts was an imposing structure. A short description of the difficult conquest is given in Peçevi, *Tārīḫ,* I, 502–503.

[70] Feridun, *Münşa'āt,* II, 551, lines 13–21. The defeat in the Battle of Lepanto is not directly mentioned; rather, the Sultan quotes a verse from the Koran, 2/216, "It may happen that ye hate a thing which is good for you."

[71] Feridun, *Münşa'āt,* II, 551, lines 36–37, 552, lines 1–5.

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Although the intent of the vizierial letter to the Andalusians was to re-create the conditions in Spain during the second revolt of the region of Alpujarras (1568–1570), the concluding admonition added a new element that expanded matters. While all the commanders of the "Protected Lands" (Ottoman Empire) were instructed to use their military resources to attack the enemies of religion, the Moriscos were also encouraged to make use of Habsburg political difficulties in Europe to aid the progress of the holy war.

> The Lutheran sect does not cease its war and combat with those who are subject to the Pope and his school. You shall [, therefore,] secretly communicate with them, and when they set out upon war and combat with the Pope you also shall take care, jointly, to cause losses to the provinces and soldiers [of the Pope] from your side.[72]

Here the Sultan encouraged the Moriscos to act in conjunction with the revolutionary Protestant movement in the Netherlands. There, since the religious riots of 1566, Philip II had applied a policy of repression, which, under the stern hand of the Duke of Alva, had provoked a major reaction against Habsburg rule.[73]

Were the Ottomans merely relying upon news of Habsburg troubles to incite the Moriscos to act again, or did they consider the Revolt of the Netherlands a matter worth exploring? Again Feridun Bey's collection yields an imperial document of major importance for European history. Not hesitating to establish alliances against Philip II beyond the Mediterranean, the Sultan dispatched an agent to Protestant leaders in Flanders and other Spanish provinces. While calling for a renewal of Muslim military actions in Spain, Selim II now worked to coordinate his western Mediterranean thrust with divisions among the Christians.[74]

After extolling the virtues of the Prophet, the power of the Ottoman Sultan, and the evil of the religious practices that, according to the Ottomans, both Islam and "Lutheranism" rejected,[75] Selim II's correspondence with

[72] The reference in the first sentence is probably to the Calvinist rebellion in the Netherlands. Catholics were named by using an Islamic technical term *mezheb* (school), which is normally employed in Ottoman sources to designate one of the four orthodox schools of Islam. (Heyd, *Ottoman Documents,* 154, n. 1.) The entire quotation is from Feridun, *Münşa'āt,* II, 552, lines 7–9. No distinction is drawn between the Pope and the Spanish in this document.

[73] Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* IV, 281–300.

[74] Feridun, *Münşa'āt,* II, 542–44. The document is an imperial letter (*nāme-i hümāyūn*) that was ordered sent to the followers of the "Lutheran" sect who were in *Fılāndara* (Flanders) and in the Spanish provinces. The Ottoman word for province (*vilāyet*) has several meanings. (See Heyd, *Ottoman Documents,* 50, n. 2.) It seems likely that the Ottomans sent their agent north to get in touch with those "Lutheran" forces in the Netherlands that opposed Philip II; the letter was, therefore, addressed to the widest possible audience rather than to any special group. This document has been partially transcribed in Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi,* II, 486–87.

[75] Feridun, *Münşa'āt,* II, 542, lines 1–7, 543, lines 1–9.

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the "Lutherans" noted: "Since you have raised your sword against the papists and since you have regularly killed them, our imperial compassion and royal attention have been devoted in every way to your region."[76] Before this time, the Sultan had not had the opportunity to communicate with the many leaders, in Flanders and in the Spanish provinces, who were disgusted with the practices of the Catholics. Thus,

> the announcement of our friendship, affection, compassion, and favor for you has been our imperial intention for some time; because there was no one who could bear our imperial trust in this matter, however, [our communication with you] has been delayed.[77]

But on the eve of the reconquest of Tunis the Ottomans had an agent.

> Now since our unnamed servant from the slaves of the Lofty Threshold, who knows the military affairs and conditions of that area and who is to be trusted, has appeared, he has been sent to you in order to make known the affection and friendship and our compassion and solicitude that exist for you.[78]

The Sultan's representative in the Netherlands was to meet with the leaders of the "Lutheran" groups to discuss the political affairs of Western Europe. Selim II specifically wanted the Protestant rebels to inform Istanbul when they planned to attack the followers of the Pope so that the Ottomans might cooperate with the "Lutherans" in a general assault on the papists.

> You will, accordingly, send to our Lofty Threshold your men who are to be trusted, and you will jointly inform our slave of your conditions such that, at the time you decide upon, our victorious troops will be sent from land and sea, and, as it should be, assistance will be given.[79]

To reinforce this proposed Muslim-"Lutheran" alliance, the Sultan informed the Protestant rebels that

> our imperial letter also has been sent to the notables of the Islamic people who are Moriscos [*Mudaccal*], and it has been written saying [to them]: "When the Lutheran Beys [*Begs*], *Beyzades* [*Begzādes*], and notables send troops against the followers of the Pope, you will also advance on those without religion from one side, and you will render assistance [to the Lutherans]." You will mutually inform each other, always, and become friendly.[80]

The imperial letter ends with a physical description of the Ottoman agent, with repeated guarantees that the "Lutheran" ambassadors to Istanbul would

[76] *Ibid.*, lines 10–11.
[77] *Ibid.*, lines 16–18.
[78] *Ibid.*, lines 18–20.
[79] *Ibid.*, lines 23–26.
[80] Bey (*beg*) is used in a general sense to mean the important leaders of the rebel Protestant movement. For further details concerning this term, see Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* [A Dictionary of Expressions and Terms for Ottoman History] (3 vols., Istanbul, 1946–54), I, 213–14. *Beyzades* (*begzādes*) are the sons of the leaders named above. The quotation is from Feridun, *Münşa'āt*, II, 543, lines 26–29.

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be protected, and with additional assurance that the Ottoman Empire would assist the proposed double envelopment of Spain.[81]

The temporary success of Spanish repression in the Netherlands, the dispersal of the Moriscos throughout Spain after 1570, and, above all, the problem of communicating over the enormous distance between the Netherlands and Istanbul prevented Selim II's grand strategy from squeezing Philip II into an Iberian corner.[82] But despite the failure of the Moriscos to rouse themselves again, the movement of Muslim agents between the eastern and western ends of the Mediterranean had its impact. Through the interrogation of captured agents, and from his own espionage network, the Habsburg King learned of the dangerous combinations that ringed Spain. When the Ottomans reconquered Tunis, Philip husbanded his forces rather than risk another North African disaster that could open the Iberian Peninsula to an internally supported invasion or would drain the Empire of military resources, exposing the Netherlands to the Protestant rebels.[83]

[81] *Ibid.*, lines 29–37, 544, lines 1–4. Did the Ottomans succeed in reaching all those who rebelled against Philip II? There is considerable evidence that the Ottomans were in touch with the Moriscos. And although Ottoman-Dutch relations remain obscure, there is some interesting information on early contacts between the Netherlanders and the Turks. The out-of-date study of the Revolt of the Netherlands, by J. L. Motley (*The Rise of the Dutch Republic* [3 vols., London, 1910–11], II, 498; III, 131), which cites original sources that I have been unable to check, states that Zeeland sailors relieving Leiden in 1574 wore a crescent badge with an inscription "Rather Turkish than Popish" and that in 1577 Juan de Escobedo informed Philip II of the interest of the rebels in an alliance with the Turks. William of Orange, writing in February 1570, speculated on how disastrous it would be for the Spanish if the Moriscos could hold out until the Turks arrived. (*Correspondance inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau,* collected Guillaume Groen Van Prinsterer [2 vols., Leiden, 1836], Ser. 1, II 361–63.) In the year of the reconquest of Tunis English agents reported that the Turkish ambassador to the Habsburg Emperor was a Dutchman. (*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series,* ed. Allan James Crosby *et al.* [24 vols., London, 1861–1936], X, 580–81.) *Sources inédites,* ed. Castries *et al.,* Subser. 3, I, 363–68, 404–407, contains two reports, one dated 1579 and the other 1582, connecting the Dutch rebellion with the Moriscos. Finally, the use of North African bases by Dutch privateers during the last quarter of the century indicated that a common antagonism toward Spain and a joint interest in privateering had brought Ottoman corsairs and Dutch seamen together on the western fringe of the Muslim Empire. (Tenenti, *Venezia,* 40–41, 78–114; Bono, *Corsari,* 77–91; Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* [London, 1965], 28.) From the Ottoman side, information about the revolt in the Netherlands continued to come from Algeria. (MD 35 189:475 [2 B 986/1578].) At the turn of the seventeenth century the description of a Dutch ambassador's trip to Constantinople, where he encountered Dutch merchants, indicates that formal diplomatic relations did not begin until 1612. (See Cornelius Haga, *A true declaration of the arrivall of C. Haga, ambassador at Constantinople,* tr. from the Dutch copy for Thomas Archer [London, 1613].) Mustafa Naima, *Tārīḫ-i-Na'īmā* [Naima's History] (6 vols., Istanbul, 1279/1862), II, 108, confirms this visit. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi,* II, 235–38, gives further details on the establishment of Ottoman-Dutch relations.

[82] Weather was the most important factor inhibiting joint operations. In the age of the galley the Mediterranean naval season ran approximately from May to October. This time dimension and the distance of Spain from the center of Ottoman activities meant that the fleet would have to winter somewhere in North Africa. For the Sultan's recognition of this problem, see MD 44 35:76 (12 RA 989/1581); on the general problem of distance in the sixteenth century, see Braudel, *Méditerranée,* 309–24.

[83] According to Braudel (*ibid.,* 980–81), the Council of State, rather than approving a counterattack, reviewed the question of whether or not to abandon Oran. It should be noted

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After the reconquest of Tunis (1574) and the successful establishment of Ottoman influence in Morocco (1576),[84] the Moriscos disappeared from the forefront of the political stage. Already in July 1576 an imperial order to the governor of Algeria contained a summary of the Morisco situation that signaled a new direction in Ottoman frontier policy. Murad III had received a report from North Africa that "on the shore opposite the province of Fās [Morocco] the Andalusians were Orthodox Muslims and that under the Unbelievers they had become weak, and their conditions had changed for the worse."[85] Four years later the Ottomans signed one of several peace treaties with the Spanish that both ended large-scale Muslim-Christian conflicts in the Mediterranean and allowed Murad III the full use of his power against the Safavids.[86] This closure of the western frontier left little hope for the future of an Islamic society in Spain; thereafter, the only information in the principal Ottoman sources concerned the resettlement of the exiles in North Africa and in other regions of the Ottoman Empire.[87] In 1609 the last elements of an old Islamic society were removed as the Spanish expelled the remaining Moriscos without excessive resistance.[88]

Intensified internal economic difficulties in the last half of the century

also that the financial difficulties of Spain were about to produce the royal bankruptcy of 1575–1576.

[84] The Ottomans had supported rival candidates for the Saadi sultanate since the end of Süleyman I's reign. (MD 6 263:561 [29 CA 972/Jan. 1565].) In 1576 Murad III provided military support for Abdülmelik, who wished to seize the Saadi throne from his nephew. This seizure extended Ottoman influence into Morocco. (Abdülaziz Efendi, *Ravżat-ul-Ebrār* [The Garden of the Righteous] [Bulak, Egypt, 1248/1832], 459; Müneccim başı, *Şaḥā'if,* III, 537–38; Mehmed, *Nuḫbet,* 133–34; Kâtib Çelebi, *Taḳvīm-üt-Tavārīḫ* [The Calendar of Chronicles] [Istanbul, 1286–87/1869–70], 125.) Moroccan accounts are in Ufrani, *Nozhet,* 109; Fagnan, *Extraits,* 397–401; and Aḥmad an-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istiḳṣā li aḫbār duwal al-Maġrib al-Aḳṣā* [A History of the States of Morocco] (8 vols., Casablanca, 1955), V, 61–64. European sources can be found in Nicholae Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (5 vols., Gotha, 1908–13), III, 159–60.

[85] "Mühimme Zeyli Defteri," 3 204:— (13 R 984/June 1576), lines 5–6.

[86] The treaty is recorded as a *nāme-i-hümāyūn* (imperial letter) in MD 43 177:322 (end C 988/Aug. 1, 1580). European sources are covered in Braudel, *Méditerranée,* 989–1008. Some of the reasons for the Ottoman turn toward Iran are listed by Bekir Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Safevi Siyasi Münasebetleri 1578–1590* [Ottoman Safavid Political Relations 1578–1590] (Istanbul, 1957), 7–29.

[87] Beginning in 1571, orders concerning the refugees from the rebellion of 1568 appeared in Ottoman records. MD 15 27:234 (4 S 979/1571) orders the granting of positions to the *'ulemā and ṣuluḥā* (learned and pious) from Spain according to their deserts; MD 23 139:284 (28 B 981/1573) commands the governor of Algeria to prevent the taking of money and clothing from the refugees; and MD 23 121:244 (19 B 981/1573) directs the granting of vacant positions to the Moriscos. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi,* II, 201–202, gives a partial transcription of MD 78 441:— (1022/1613), which orders the Tunisian governor and judges to assist the refugees from Spain and to collect them for transfer to the provinces of Adana, 'Uzeyr (area between Adana and Aleppo), Tarsus, Sis (center for the province of Adana), Syria, and Kars (Zülkadriye).

[88] Lapeyre, *Géographie,* examines the expulsion in detail.

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stirred discontent among both the Old Christians and the Moriscos and provoked a rise in hostility between the two religious communities.[89] While part of the mounting pressures was the result of general economic problems, the Moriscos were disturbed by specific changes for the worse in areas where they had major interests, such as the silk trade.[90] But whatever the intensity of these economic grievances may have been, it seems unlikely that they alone aroused either the government to act so severely against the Islamic community or the Moriscos to rebell against one of the most powerful states in the European world. Something else had to challenge the enormous power of the Habsburg Empire.

Certainly heightened religious feeling associated with the Counter Reformation affected the Habsburg treatment of Spanish Muslims. At the very least, efforts against an expanding Protestant world and against Islam on the march demanded some form of Christian purity at home. The Habsburgs had acted, unsuccessfully, since 1502 to bring the Moriscos into the Catholic community; by the last half of the century, time was running out. Now the Moriscos faced Catholic clerics returning from the third meeting of the Council of Trent (1562–1564). If Spain was to be a center of activity for reformed Catholicism, how could churchmen tolerate the existence of a community that had refused, for over a half a century, to join the Christian world? Was, however, the political and religious force of the ecclesiastical party the determining element in the worsening relations between the Moriscos and the state following the retirement of Charles V?

Considering the evidence available, neither the pressure of the churchmen nor internal social and economic reasons seem to have been so powerful as to compel Philip "The Prudent" to adopt policies toward the Moriscos that produced a revolt in 1568 and that led to the redistribution throughout Spain of an alienated minority. These were severe actions motivated by reasons and fears far more serious than heightened economic and religious tensions. No doubt exists that a high degree of religious emotion entered into the decisions to root out the false Christian, but what really tipped the scales against the Moriscos were the ominous events on the northern and southern frontiers of the Habsburg Empire.

The long centuries of Muslim rule in Spain cannot be ignored when judging the impact on Spain of increased Ottoman power in North Africa. From mid-century on, the Sultan's warriors had relentlessly pushed Habsburg garrisons back from their positions in the eastern Mediterranean. Con-

[89] Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 353–420, 594; Baroja, *Moriscos*, 16, 55–59.
[90] Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 228–37.

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currently the Muslim fifth column in Spain served Ottoman purposes by diverting Habsburg energies toward the repression of an internal revolt while the Muslims took two of their major objectives, Cyprus and Tunis. Despite the suppression of the Moriscos and the subsequent distribution of the rebels, the problem of a disloyal minority still tormented the Spanish. Both Ottoman and Spanish records testify to the continued attempts by the Muslims to use the Moriscos as a military weapon, or, at the very least, as part of an espionage system. Ottoman power had now, furthermore, moved uncomfortably close, placing, with the aid of Spanish refugees,[91] an Ottoman candidate on the Moroccan throne in 1576. Thus, by the last quarter of the sixteenth century, another strong Islamic army, with supporting elements inside the Iberian Peninsula, was encamped within the traditional staging areas for the invasion of Spain. Although after 1580 the Ottomans and the Spanish disengaged, could Philip II be sure that the Ottomans would never use this tyrannized minority and a strong position in North Africa to reverse the reconquest?[92] The rhythm of Iberian history during the last eight centuries gave no comforting answer.

Nor in the crisis years of the 1560's was it possible to view the Morisco issue as only a problem of assimilation or expulsion coupled with the renewal of Muslim power in North Africa. Well into the last quarter of the century revolution and war shook the foundations of the Habsburg Empire. The rebellion in the Netherlands after 1566, the Morisco uprising in Spain in 1568–1570, the Huguenot struggles in France after 1562, and the successful Ottoman reconquest of Tunis in 1574 came dangerously close together. This deadly interplay of frontier wars that strained Spanish energies was, moreover, not hidden from Habsburg opponents. Ibrahim Peçuylu (Peçevi), summarizing sixteenth-century Ottoman historians, exposed the Spanish dilemma. "In 1570, while the Spanish infidel checked 'Lutheran' unbelievers with troops, the Islamic people [in Granada] took [this] opportunity and brought victory to the country of Granada."[93] What concerned Philip II was this very attempt at an alliance among the Ottoman Empire, Protestant revolutionaries, and a Muslim fifth column in the center of Spain. If Calvinist destruction of idols prompted Philip II into sending his best general to root out heretical revolutionaries, so much less could he tolerate their infidel

[91] Ufrani, *Nozhet,* 110; Fagnan, *Extraits,* 397–98.

[92] Merriman, *Rise of the Spanish Empire,* IV, 97–99; *Calendars of State Papers, Venetian,* ed. Rawdon Brown *et al.* (38 vols., London, 1864–1947), VIII, 519–20, contains a report, dated 1591, of an Ottoman threat to use the Moriscos against Spain.

[93] Peçevi, *Tārīḫ,* I, 485–86, summarizes 'Ali, "Künh," IV, fol. 241^{b}–42^{a}. Others who repeat the same "imperial" view of the rebellion are Mehmed, *Nuḫbet,* 118–19; and Müneccim başı, *Ṣaḥā'if,* III, 526.

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counterpart, let alone their allies, in the very heart of the centralized Spanish Catholic state that had been created in the war against Muslims who now, again, were approaching the Iberian Peninsula. Even the resources of the mighty Habsburg Empire were not sufficient to confront both Islam and the Reformation.

The second revolt of the region of Alpujarras, the Calvinist rebellion in the north, and the advance of the Ottomans in North Africa revived the question of the Moriscos at a time when religious feeling was running high, and when there was a definite threat of a Muslim-supported revolutionary alliance with connections throughout and around Habsburg territories. Important political reasons, which were deeply rooted in Iberian history, gave free rein to an enthusiasm for a reformed Catholicism that masked many other interests. Whatever may have been Philip II's own motivations, Ottoman evidence provides enough information to indicate that imperial politics, transcending the Mediterranean, made the existence of the Morisco community a definite danger to the state. Self-defense dictated some sort of action. Expulsion was to be the final, tragic solution, and the Strait of Gibraltar became the dividing line between two civilizations.

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If All the World Were Philadelphia: A Scaffolding for Urban History, 1774–1930

Sam Bass Warner, Jr.

FROM the moment American historians began writing self-conscious urban history they assumed the city was a particular kind of place, an environment, or set of environments, that called for special historical investigation. In his pioneering *Rise of the City, 1878–1898* (New York, 1933), Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., took the common-sense view that the crowding in slums, the intense social and economic interactions of the downtown, and the diurnal rhythms of the suburbs, all forced men to learn new styles of life if they were to prosper, indeed if they were to survive. Subsequent urban historians, whether their subject was immigrants, industrial cities, or colonial towns, repeatedly asserted that the city, either as a whole or by its parts, bore uniquely upon the lives of the men and women whose stories they told. Thus far, however, historians have failed to study the sources of this uniqueness in any systematic way.

Perhaps because the idea of a city as a special place, or a cluster of special places, seemed such a truism, it appeared not to be worthy of investigation in its own right. Perhaps because the demands for environmental history forced historians to labor so long to master the detail of a locale, few of them would contemplate a comparative study or a survey of a long time period. Or, perhaps the tradition of local history that has long stressed the distinctiveness of each urban portrait has prevented historians from considering the comparative and sequential aspects of urban environments. Whatever the cause of the lack of system, now thirty-five years after Schlesinger began the specialty, urban history still lacks a study of the succession of urban environments for any major city and the custom of research that would allow a reader to compare the history of one city to the history of any other.

This failure to examine the environment of cities in any systematic way

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has had serious consequences for the specialty. Teachers of urban history courses in American colleges must patch together chronological series out of books that do not treat comparable events, although the entire selection purports to deal with urbanization. A common sequence touching some of the important areas in American urban history might leap, for example, from Carl Bridenbaugh's description of colonial towns, to Oscar Handlin's analysis of Boston from 1830 to 1880, to Jacob Riis' account of New York's Lower East Side, to Lincoln Steffens' survey of municipal corruption, to Gilbert Osofsky's history of Harlem.[1] There is analysis of urban environments in Handlin, Riis, and Osofsky, although the data presented do not allow strict comparison without much outside knowledge. There is no concept of environment in Bridenbaugh and Steffens. The latter's argument rests on an interpretation of the structure of urban industry in the early twentieth century, but none of the other books give information on the earlier or later industrial structure. There are immigrants in Bridenbaugh's towns, but no information on acculturation. Just as frustrating to teacher and student as this lack of consistent information from book to book is the fact that no outline of the process of urbanization can be elicited from a chronological reading of our major urban histories. Except to the most imaginative reader, the usual shelf of urban history books looks like a line of disconnected local histories.

From time to time more systematic methods of viewing change in urban environments have been proposed. Soon after Schlesinger's work appeared, Lewis Mumford wrote his wide-ranging urban history of Europe and America, *The Culture of Cities* (New York, 1938). In it he divided urban history according to technological periods, arguing that urban environments responded to a regular sequence of technological events.[2] Economic historians have also worked with the concept of a process of development, and their periods complement the technological periods that Mumford derived intuitively. The economists have related the size of cities to economic functions and thereby tied urban history directly to the history of industrializa-

[1] Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625–1742* (New York, 1938), and *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776* (New York, 1955); Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941); Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (New York, 1890); Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York, 1904); Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto. Negro New York, 1890–1930* (New York, 1966).

[2] In this work and its predecessor, *Technics and Civilization* (New York, 1934), Mumford elaborated a scheme first proposed by the Scottish biologist and city planner, Patrick Geddes, in his *Cities in Evolution* (London, 1915).

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tion.[3] By extension of their reasoning, it is possible to relate internal environments to general economic change by regarding these environments as products of the developing scale and complexity of local, national, and international markets. Thus, the colonial American town becomes a product of an Atlantic system for the exchange of staples and manufactured goods; the big city to which the immigrants came in the early nineteenth century becomes a product of increased interregional commerce; the modern metropolis becomes a product of highly specialized regional and interregional exchanges in which services of all kinds have grown to supplant in significance older manufacturing and commercial functions. The idea of such urban sequences is as old as the concept of industrialization. What is new is the growing ability of economic historians to specify the relationships that determine urban growth and change.

Today it is possible to arrange the kind of basic facts that urban historians tend to gather in the course of their studies in such a way as to reveal the sequences suggested by Mumford and the economic historians. Such an arrangement gives the writer, and later his readers, a measure by which to judge the typicality of the subject; it also enables the writer and his readers to get some idea of where the particular events under discussion fit within the process of Atlantic urbanization. An orderly presentation of a few facts can, in short, provide a kind of intellectual scaffolding for urban history.

This article will demonstrate a systematic arrangement of a few facts about the population of Philadelphia during the years 1774, 1860, and 1930. It will discuss, in order, the growth of the population, the course of industrialization, the changing locations of workplaces and homes, the shifting intensity of residential clusters, and the group organization of work. Philadelphia has special merit for such a demonstration because it became a big city early in our history and because it industrialized early.

By the best current estimate the population of urban Philadelphia in 1775 (Philadelphia, Northern Liberties, and Southwark) was 24,000.[4] Such a size did not make it the rival of Edinburgh and Dublin, as it has often been described,[5] but rather an ordinary provincial town comparable to many

[3] Eric E. Lampard, "History of Cities in Economically Advanced Areas," *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* III (Jan. 1955), 81–136; Eugene Smolensky and Donald Ratajczak, "The Conception of Cities," *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History,* 2d Ser., II (Winter 1965), 90–131; and a useful survey of various systematic methods of urban study, Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore, *The Study of Urbanization* (New York, 1965).

[4] This figure is calculated from manuscript tax lists and constables' returns. Other colonial statistics in this paper are from 1774. This size of population is of the same magnitude as that used by Everett S. Lee, "Population," in *The Growth of Seaport Cities, 1790–1825,* ed. David T. Gilchrist (Charlottesville, Va., 1967), 28.

[5] Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt,* 217.

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towns throughout Europe and Latin America. Though a new town, its physical, social, and economic environments must have been long familiar to the European world. This very typicality of Philadelphia suggests that comparative studies of contemporary European and Latin American provincial cities would reveal important dimensions of the preindustrial world.

In 1860 the consolidated city of Philadelphia (consolidated in 1854 to include all of Philadelphia County) held a population of 566,000, second only to New York in numbers of inhabitants.[6] So rapid had been its growth that it had become one of the great cities of the world, about the same size as the old cities of Vienna and Moscow or the new city of Liverpool. As in the case of Liverpool, industrialization, immigration, and boomtown conditions were its hallmarks.

In 1930 Philadelphia's population (within the same boundaries as in 1860) had risen to 1,951,000. It was then, as it has remained, one of the nation's "big five," grouped with New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Detroit. In comparison to other cities of the world it ranked twelfth, behind Osaka, Paris, Leningrad, and Buenos Aires.[7] In this period the key social issue was the manner in which a city of such unprecedented size structured its masses of people and its heavy volume of economic activities.

It is impossible to classify with precision the occupations of city dwellers over a century and a half of modern history. Crude listings can, nevertheless, give useful perspectives on the nature of urban economic life. The statistics for Philadelphia suggest two quite different perspectives: a view of continuity and a view of change.

In terms of continuity, differences of a few percentage points may be read both to suggest the stability of urban life and to point to fundamental change. Note, for example, in Table I the move in the Manufacturing category from 52.4 per cent to 45.3 per cent, in the professions from 3.1 per cent to 6.3 per cent, or in the building trades from 7.6 per cent to 8.1 per cent. Although the span from 1774 to 1930 is generally treated by historians as a time of major revolutions, over the entire 150 years the city fulfilled a basic set of functions: it provided clothing, food, and housing for its residents, and professional services, markets, and manufactures for its residents and its trading region. From such a placid viewpoint, even a sharp decline, such as that of the transportworkers, or an equally sharp rise, such as that of the

[6] New York's population was 805,651, Brooklyn's 266,661, giving a combined urban population of 1,072,312. (*U. S. Eighth Census: 1860, Population,* I, xxxi–xxxii.) Baltimore was third with 212,418.

[7] The 1860 and 1930 world population data are from Vladimir S. Woytinsky and Emma S. Woytinsky, *World Population and Production* (New York, 1953), 120–22. The population of all cities is according to their political boundaries, not their metropolitan regions.

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Table I

A Comparison of Some Elements of the Work Structure of Philadelphia, 1774–1930[8]

	1774	1860	1930
Occupation:			
Laborers, all industrial categories	13.3	8.1	8.7
Clerks of all kinds, office, and sales	0.8	3.4	13.9
All other occupations	85.9	88.5	77.4
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Workers by industrial categories:			
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	52.4	54.9	45.3
Building	7.6	8.3	8.1
Clothing	7.6	11.7	4.5
Bakeries	3.3	0.9	1.2
Iron, steel, and shipbuilding except autos and blast furnaces	6.2	4.5	4.7
Metalworking except iron and steel	2.0	2.4	0.6
Paper and printing	0.8	3.2	2.9
Miscellaneous textiles except wool and knitting	1.8	4.8	3.8
Balance of manufacturing	23.1	19.1	19.5
Nonmanufacturing	47.6	45.1	54.7
Wholesale and retail except autos	21.1	11.2	15.3
Transportation except railroads and transit	12.3	3.6	2.6
Professional and semiprofessional except entertainment	3.1	4.3	6.3
Hotels, laundries, and domestic service except slaves and indentured servants	5.9	21.8	12.8
Other nonmanufacturing industries	5.2	4.2	17.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total Classified	3,654	3,012	864,926

[8] The classification of the Philadelphia work force of this table is that of the 1930 US Census, *Fifteenth Census, Classified Index of Occupations* (Washington, D.C., 1930), and *Alphabetical Index of Occupations* (Washington, D.C., 1930). One exception only has been made: wooden shipbuilding trades have been placed with the iron, steel, and shipbuilding categories for 1774 and 1860. The categories chosen for this table are those showing some specificity and continuity through all three periods and did not, like banking, contain so many unspecified clerks, or, like cotton mills, contain so many unspecified operatives as to

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clerks, can be regarded as merely a shift in the nature of the city's commerce, not a departure from its historic functions. This perspective of continuity is especially useful to political history since it helps to explain the enduring power of urban businessmen, the commercialism of urban leadership, and the perseverance of business ideology at all levels of city politics.

The grouping of occupational statistics can also be used to place a city's history in a perspective of change. One can, for instance, interpret the shifts in the percentage of persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries in the three years we are using (1774, 52.4 per cent; 1860, 54.9 per cent; 1930, 45.3 per cent) to suggest a steady decline in the proportions of Philadelphians engaged in manufactures from a peak in 1774. This interpretation seems proper because the 1774 percentage radically understates manufacturing activity. Colonial tax lists did not report the contribution of female domestic labor although such labor constituted an important fraction of the city's output. Indeed, one economic historian has estimated that on the eve of the Revolution four thousand Philadelphia women were spinning and weaving.[9] If this interpretation is correct, then the course of urban industrialization takes on a special character. Not only did successive changes in industrial organization and machine processes free men and women from manufacturing for other occupations, but urban industrialization was a progressive sequence, ever lessening the commitment of the urban work force to manufacturing. Such a long trend differs from our common-sense impression that manufacturing occupied more and more city workers from President Jackson's time to the Hoover era.

defy 1774 or 1860 restoration. Occupations that could not be distributed by industry, like gentleman, widow, clerk, agent, operative, laborer, foreman, and helper, have been omitted from the industrial categorization of 1774 and 1860 and therefore do not enter into the percentage distributions of those years. These variations in classification between 1774, 1860, and 1930 probably account for small fluctuations in the Index of Dissimilarity of Table III. In a few cases the census names of some industrial categories have been altered for clarity. The census' Other Iron and Steel category appears in the table as Iron, steel, and shipbuilding except autos and blast furnaces; the census' Other Textiles appears as Miscellaneous textiles except wool and knitting; the census' Other Professional appears as Professional and semi-professional except entertainment. The table's category Hotels, laundries, and domestic service except slaves and indentured servants is a grouping of three census categories: Hotels, Restaurants, and Boarding Houses; Laundries and Cleaning Shops; Other Domestic Services. The 1774 list of occupations was drawn up from a careful comparison of names given on the 1774 Provincial Property Tax List for Philadelphia County with the 1775 Constable's Return for Philadelphia. The tax list is deposited in the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg; the Constable's Return is in the Archives of the City of Philadelphia, City Hall, Philadelphia. The 1860 material was drawn from a random sample of 3,666 persons taken from the original Eighth Census schedules for Philadelphia County now deposited in the National Archives. The 1930 data were transcribed from unpublished schedules of the Fifteenth Census now in my possession.

[9] Anne Bezanson, *Prices and Inflation during the American Revolution: Pennsylvania, 1770–1790* (Philadelphia, 1951), 129.

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More detailed comparisons of occupational and industrial groupings can also be made. Such groupings reflect changes in the structure of Philadelphia's economy that accompanied changes in the city's role in the Atlantic and American economy. During the first wave of industrialization, from 1774 to 1860, the proportions of unskilled laborers fell rapidly while the numbers of office and sales clerks multiplied. General wholesaling and retailing, however, declined with the differentiation of the old importing merchant's and general storekeeper's functions into distinct specialties. The labor force tied to marine transport and drayage declined sharply, while new industries like clothing, paper, and printing and some lines of textiles rose to great importance.

In the second wave of industrialization, during the interval 1860–1930, office and sales clerks again multiplied, but unskilled laborers remained a more or less steady proportion of the working population. Clothing, printing, baking, and textiles declined in relative importance, though they remained heavy users of Philadelphia's labor force. New industries, especially electrical machinery and auto parts, surged into prominence.[10] Such changes in manufacturing went forward within the context of a general decline in the proportion of Philadelphians engaged in manufactures and a strong rise in professions, government, commerce, and some services.

In sum, even such a crude table (Table IV) shows that Philadelphia, despite its unique historical mixture of manufacturing, banking, and transportation, participated in the general trend of American and European industrialization suggested by Colin Clark.[11] Philadelphians' economic effort shifted steadily from an early concentration on manufactures and commerce toward a modern emphasis on services, education, and government.

As in the case of all large American cities, Philadelphia's growth was propelled by heavy in-migrations of rural native and foreign immigrants. The successive waves of foreign migration have been well documented, and now recent internal migrations have been estimated in state-by-state detail.[12] Today's practical concern with the social and political problems of black core cities and white metropolitan rings has obscured some of the history of urban settlement. The modern core of poverty and ring of affluence date

[10] See Table IV; and Gladys L. Palmer, *Philadelphia Workers in a Changing Economy* (Philadelphia, 1956), 20–52.

[11] Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* (2d ed., London, 1951), Chap. IX.

[12] Conrad Taeuber and Irene B. Taeuber, *The Changing Population of the United States* (New York, 1958); Simon Kuznets *et al.*, *Population Redistribution and Economic Growth, United States, 1870–1950* (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1957–64).

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from the late nineteenth century and were not characteristic of the first wave of urban growth.[13]

A kind of core and ring distribution of city dwellers manifested itself from the beginning, but it was much weaker and the reverse of the later distribution. In 1774 the poor seemed to have been pushed to the fringes of the city by the high cost of land near the Delaware River wharves. Then, during the early nineteenth century, Philadelphia grew so rapidly, and from such small beginnings, that no large stock of old housing existed to absorb or to ghettoize the waves of poor people flooding into the city.

Like inhabitants of a booming Latin American city today, Philadelphians of all income levels had to locate in new construction. Shanties, shacks, backyard houses, and alley tenements, as well as the monstrous conversions of the early nineteenth century, all so movingly reported by the nation's first sanitary inspectors, testify to the unpleasant clash of low incomes with the costs of new construction.[14] Under these conditions the poor tended to settle in backyards everywhere, in any old, decaying street that was not being seized by business, and especially at the outer edge of the city where land was cheapest, or could be squatted on.

If laborers are taken as proxies for low-income families, then Table II shows the tendency of poverty to concentrate at the ring of the city in 1860, not at the core; clerks concentrated next to the downtown. Such commonplace occupations as carpenters, machinists, shoemakers, and tailors settled in reasonably even proportions in both parts of the city. By 1930 the large stocks of old, cheap housing in the core of the city had completely reversed this pattern; low rents concentrated in the core, homeowners and middle-income rentpayers ($50.00–$99.00) at the ring.

Complementary patterns can be observed in the location of immigrants. In 1860, except for the British who clustered in the ring to be near the city's outer textile mills, immigrants were rather evenly distributed between core and ring. In 1930 the major immigrant groups, the Italians, Poles, and Russians, and the incoming Negroes concentrated in the cheap housing in the core. By the twentieth century, income, ethnic, and racial segregation had become as characteristic of the giant industrial metropolis as jumble and huggermugger had characterized the earlier big city.

[13] Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870–1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), gives a detailed account of the development of this core and ring pattern in Boston; Leo F. Schnore, *The Urban Scene, Human Ecology and Demography* (New York, 1965), demonstrates three quite different patterns for race, education, and income in large American metropolitan regions, 1950–1960.

[14] *Transactions of the American Medical Association,* II (1849); John H. Griscom, *The Sanitary Condition of the Laboring Population of New York* (New York, 1845).

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Table II

Location of Foreign-Born, Negroes, and Selected Occupations, Tenures, and Rents, by Per Cent in Core or Ring, 1860, 1930[15]

1860

	Negro	Foreign-Born	Britain	Germany	Ireland		Total Population
Ring	34.9	62.1	73.7	60.4	60.8		61.9
Core	65.1	37.9	26.3	39.6	39.2		38.1
Total Number	22,185	168,556	22,398	43,833	94,989		565,529
	Laborer	Clerk	Carpenter	Machinist	Shoemaker	Tailor	Sample
Ring	75.5	40.6	61.7	69.5	66.9	68.9	58.9
Core	24.5	59.4	38.3	30.5	33.1	31.1	41.1
Number in Sample	442	283	149	82	181	122	4,740

1930

	Negro	Britain	Germany	Ireland	Italy	Poland	Russia	Total Population
Ring	19.7	52.6	43.8	52.0	29.5	27.4	30.0	70.4
Core	80.3	47.4	56.2	48.0	70.5	72.6	70.0	29.6
Total Number	222,504	36,593	38,066	31,359	68,156	30,582	80,959	1,950,961
	Own Their Home	Rent at under $15	Rent $15–$29	Rent $30–$49	Rent $50–$99	Rent $100+		Total Families
Ring	52.4	10.9	16.8	40.3	60.5	44.2		44.2
Core	47.6	89.1	83.2	59.7	29.5	55.8		55.8
Number of Families	232,591	10,142	63,432	96,026	36,427	6,538		448,653

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As significant to the social geography and social history of the city as the general placement of income, ethnic, and racial groups by core and ring is the question of the intensity of residential clustering. For example, are the shops and houses of the printers so tightly clustered together in one neighborhood that they encourage the establishment of benevolent societies and unions somewhat in the manner of the medieval city with its guilds? Or are the printers' homes so dispersed that only the conditions in the shops themselves contribute to association? Are the immigrants of a given period so tightly clustered that they experience American culture only through the strong filter of an ethnic ghetto? Or are the immigrants mixed in with large proportions of other poor people so that their assimilation is a process of adapting to some more general culture of the American poor? Variations in the intensity of clustering will also affect the historian's evaluation of the functions of political bosses and their ward machines and of the services of city institutions like hospitals, schools, theaters, and saloons. By noting the ward location of the workers classified according to their industrial groups for Table I, and by adding information on the foreign-born and on rents, as it became available, one can compare the intensity of residential clustering in 1774, 1860, and 1930.

In the history of Philadelphia, the general trend in concentrations of settlement was striking. Between 1774 and 1860 necessity and convenience caused the members of some industries to cluster their homes. Then, with the improvement in intracity transportation and the creation of large business organizations, the necessity to hive faded away. As this industrial cause of clustering lapsed, intense segregation based on income, race, foreign birth, and class rose to prominence as the organizing principle of the metropolis. (See Table III.)

A value of twenty-five on the accompanying Index of Dissimilarity (Table III) makes a convenient boundary between strong and weak clustering.[16] Some groupings of industry like the building trades, whole-

[15] The core is the original municipality of Philadelphia, 1860, Wards 5–10; the ring is the eighteen outer wards. The location of the Negroes was given in *U.S. Ninth Census: 1870,* I, *Population,* 254; the location of the foreign-born was determined by transcribing the original eighth census schedules at the National Archives. The error in the transcription was less than 1.0 per cent. The location of the occupations was determined from a sample of *McElroy's Street Directory* for 1860. The ring wards are northeast 23, 35, 41; south 48; west 34, 46, 40; northwest 38, 21, 22, 42; the core is the thirty-seven inner wards of the city. All figures calculated from unpublished tract statistics of the fifteenth census, 1930. The owning families plus the renting families do not quite add to 100 per cent because there were 3,497 families who were listed as renting, but did not specify their rental group. (*U.S. Fifteenth Census: 1930, Population, Families,* IV, 1162–63.)

[16] Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change* (Chicago, 1965), 43–62.

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Table III

Index of Dissimilarity, Philadelphia, Southwark, and Northern Liberties, 1774; Philadelphia, 1860; 1930[17]

1774	Index No.	1860	Index No.	1930	Index No.
				Rental under $15 per month	56.0
				Italy, foreign-born	50.7
				Negro, native and foreign	50.7
				Rental $100+	50.2
		Negro, free, native-born	47.3		
				Russia, foreign-born	44.4
				Poland, foreign-born	44.0
				Miscellaneous textiles	42.3
		Miscellaneous textiles	40.3		
Laborers	37.2				
				Rental $15–$29	35.3
		Germany, foreign-born	34.1		
Metalworking except iron and steel	32.5				
				Germany, foreign-born	32.4
				Rental $50–$99	31.5
				Hotels, laundries, and domestics	30.8
		Bakeries	30.7		
Iron, steel, and shipbuilding	29.4				
Paper and printing	29.4				
		Iron, steel, and shipbuilding	29.0		
				Clothing	27.7
				Transportation except railroads and transit	27.2
				Britain, except Northern Ireland, foreign-born	26.6
		Hotels, laundries, and domestics	25.9		
		Metalworking except iron and steel	25.6		
		Professional except entertainment	25.4		
Transportation except railroads and transit	24.7				
Miscellaneous textiles	24.3				

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Table III (continued)

1774	Index No.	1860	Index No.	1930	Index No.
				Professional except entertainment	23.1
				Owned occupied home	22.6
Clothing	22.3				
		Laborers	21.9		
		Clothing	21.8		
				Ireland, Northern and Southern, foreign-born	21.5
Building trades	21.2				
				Iron, steel, and shipbuilding	20.8
Wholesale and retail	20.5				
		Ireland, Northern and Southern, foreign-born	19.8		
German patronyms	19.7				
Professional except entertainment	19.7				
		Transportation except railroads and transit	19.6		
		Paper and printing	19.0		
				Rental $30–$49 (the median)	17.7
Bakeries	16.7				
		Building trades	16.4	Metalworking except iron and steel	16.4
				Bakeries	15.2
Hotels, laundries, and domestics	15.1				
				Paper and printing	11.4
				Building	10.4
		Pennsylvania, native-born	10.1		
		Wholesale and retail	9.6		
Homeowners	6.1				
				Wholesale and retail	5.3

[17] This Index of Dissimilarity should give the reader some measure by which he can compare the intensity of residential clustering in Philadelphia in 1774 to clustering in 1860 and clustering in 1930. The index has been frequently used by sociologists to discuss segregation in modern American cities. The values of the index in this table are lower than for modern studies because all the tabulations had to be based upon ward data, the ward being the only subdivision of the city for which material was available in all three periods. To construct the index, proportions of each group (laborers, foreign-born Irish, and so forth) to the total population of each ward were calculated. Next the proportion of the group to the total population of the city was calculated. Then the index was computed. The index measures the degree to which the group in question clustered in some wards in higher proportions than its proportion to the total population of the city. It is a measure of the variation of the ward-by-ward distribution of one group as compared to all others in the city. If the index number were 0, then in each ward of the city the group in question would be distributed in precisely

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saling, and retailing never established strong residential clusters. In 1774 the laborers' homes clustered most intensely at the outer fringe of town; the other strong gatherings were the printers; the shipbuilders near the port; blacksmiths, tinsmiths, and coppersmiths (these occupations are included within the US census categories of Table III, namely, Metalworking except iron and steel; Iron, steel, and shipbuilding; Paper and printing).

The big city of 1860 continued some of these tendencies toward industrial concentration: professionals such as lawyers and doctors lived and practiced near the downtown; bakers lived and worked there, too, and also clustered near the city's eleven public markets. The strongest industrial cluster of this era, and remaining so in 1930, was the textileworkers. Another sign of the future, visible from the tabulation for 1860, was the concentration of the hotel, laundry, and domestic workers. In this case their stronghold lay on the south side of the downtown, the site in 1930 of Philadelphia's sin and slum district. The evidence of the free Negroes also tells of the long-standing caste rules against that race. Theirs was the most intense segregation. The foreign-born Germans had created a strong cluster on the north side of town, but the largest immigrant group of all, the Irish, were evenly distributed throughout the city. They lived in basements, alleys, and attics on every block.[18]

In 1930, except for the textile group, well-paid skilled workers were scattered through the city's wards without much regard as to their industries. The new clusters of industry groupings shown in Table III were those who lacked skills and were not well paid: truckers, expressmen, sailors, clothing-workers, and workers in hotels, laundries, and domestic service. These were also the trades of the Negroes and the new immigrants. The index for 1930, then, shows the modern metropolitan pattern: high concentration of low skills and low rents. All the disfavored groups did not live in the same place, to be sure, but these groups divided up what was available wherever

its proportion to the entire city's population. If the index number were 100, the group would be entirely concentrated in its ward, or wards, and present in no others. A full explanation of the index and other methods of measuring clustering appears in Taeuber and Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities,* 203–204, 223–38. The sources for the occupations and origins of this table were the same as those mentioned in the note to Table I. For a more complete description of the archival research behind the data for 1774, see Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia, 1968), 225–28.

[18] I have compared these Philadelphia Index of Dissimilarity values for foreign-born in 1860 with those of Boston at about the same period. The results are similar: they indicate that the Irish assimilation in Boston also took place in mixed poor neighborhoods of both foreign-born and native poor as well as in heterogeneous wards of all classes and backgrounds. The Index of Dissimilarity values for Boston (twelve wards, 1855) were: foreign-born Irish, 8.0; foreign-born Canadians, 13.9; foreign-born Germans and Dutch, 33.8. (*Census of Massachusetts: 1855* [Boston, 1856], 124–27.)

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cheap old housing prevailed. In Philadelphia in the 1920's these conditions could be found especially in the core and in the old industrial sections of the north side. The rich, of course, huddled together, as segregated in their way as the poorest Negro.

These trends nicely match the general trend in the building of the American metropolis and the aging of its structures. They also reflect the strong early twentieth-century prejudice against foreigners and the intense caste feeling against Negroes. In this sense, the history of Philadelphia seems to conform to the general national history of urban growth, immigration, and industrialization.[19]

Because most of our social historians who are interested in big cities have been concerned with immigrants, and because our labor historians have not been concerned with cities, American history has failed to deal with the interaction between urban environments and the social organization of work. The simplest statistical computation shows that we have ignored a series of events of wide implication and enormous magnitude. The arrangement of most of the economic activities of a city into work groups is as much of a revolution in the environments of cities as the introduction of the automobile or electricity. In this important dimension of social structure, the town of 1774, the big city of 1860, and the industrial metropolis of 1930 all differed markedly from each other.

In eighteenth-century Philadelphia, with but very few exceptions, most people labored alone, with their family, or with a partner or a helper or two.[20] The first wave of industrialization brought a large fraction of the city's manufacturing workers into a group organization of work. (See Table IV.) The technique of rationalizing tasks so that they could be performed by groups of men and women working within one shop, rather than as individuals laboring in a neighborhood of households, was to my mind the largest component in the first wave of urban industrialization. The early

[19] Students in my seminar at Washington University did some computations of the Index of Dissimilarity for 1910 and 1950 and arrived at values consistent with those given here for Philadelphia in 1930 for Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Louisville, Manhattan and Brooklyn, St. Louis, and San Francisco. Stanley Lieberson did a careful study of ethnic group patterns in Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Syracuse, using similar methods. His results also fit with my values for Philadelphia. (Stanley Lieberson, *Ethnic Patterns in American Cities* [New York, 1963], 209–18.)

[20] The exceptions were shipyards, ropewalks, and distilleries in the city. In the country the plantation for manufacture or agriculture was the setting for group work. The only other common cases were ships and the army. (Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* [New York, 1946], 38–40; Carl Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman* [New York, 1950], 126–29, 136–39, 141–43.)

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Table IV
Average Size of Establishments in Major Lines of Manufacture, Philadelphia, 1860, 1930[21]

Total Persons Employed	1860	Average No. Persons Per Establishment
98,397	All lines of manufacture	15.6
1,255	Locomotives	627.5
4,793	Cotton goods	94.0
1,131	Gas fixtures	75.4
3,258	Cotton and woolen goods	63.9
1,021	Umbrellas and parasols	48.6
3,290	Shirts, collars, etc.	45.7
14,387	Clothing, men's and boys'	40.9
1,219	Silk fringes and trimmings	39.3
1,876	Bricks	38.3
2,285	Hosiery, woolen	32.2
1,613	Machinery, general, of iron	26.4
2,680	Carpets	21.6
1,190	Bookbinders	20.0
1,038	Carriages and coaches	20.0
1,326	Leather	15.8
8,434	Boots and shoes	12.0
1,627	Furniture and cabinetmakers' wares	10.1
1,290	Cigars	5.6
1,138	Millinery, laces, etc.	4.9
54,851		
	1930	
292,616	All lines of manufacture	52.6
1,986	Sugar refining	662.0
3,103	Iron and steel mills	443.3
20,280	Electrical machinery	375.6
1,535	Paper	307.0
5,105	Leather	204.2
8,321	Worsted goods	180.9
8,564	Cigars and cigarettes	161.6
26,693	Knit goods	134.1
1,861	Chemicals	124.1
1,245	Dental goods and equipment	113.2
13,806	Printing and publishing, newspaper and magazine	99.3
3,479	Silk and rayon manufacture	94.0
2,219	Cotton, small wares	92.5

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Table IV (continued)

Total Persons Employed	1930	Average No. Persons Per Establishment
1,829	Druggists' preparations	91.5
5,692	Cotton goods	79.1
3,002	Woolen goods	73.2
3,327	Shirts	72.3
1,840	Meat packing, wholesale	59.4
13,083	Foundary and machine-shop production	59.2
3,227	Boxes, paper	50.4
4,056	Dyeing and finishing textiles	41.4
4,676	Furniture, including store fixtures	41.0
11,680	Clothing, men's and boys'	39.6
3,884	Confectionery	39.2
2,070	Paints and varnishes	37.6
1,432	Ice cream	36.7
1,114	Structural and ornamental iron	35.9
9,304	Clothing, women's	31.3
1,464	Fancy and miscellaneous articles	30.5
1,463	Planing mill products	28.7
1,513	Nonferrous metals	28.0
1,293	Copper, tin, sheet ironwork	21.9
8,413	Bread and bakery products	16.5
7,319	Printing and publishing, book and job	15.2
189,878		

increases in productivity in most lines of urban manufacture came from the work of groups, not from the new machines. The violent strikes and the anti-Catholic and anti-Negro riots of the 1830's and 1840's testify to the painful and revolutionary effect of this social change.[22] By 1930 three-quarters of Philadelphia's work force—in office, factory, store, and government—labored in groups.[23]

[21] A major line of manufacturing is one that employed one thousand or more persons in the city of Philadelphia. Office help is included with the mill hands, supervisors, owners, and employers. Many children are omitted in 1860 in those lines, like cigar making, that were dominated by small shops. (Philadelphia Board of Trade, *Manufactures of Philadelphia* [Philadelphia, 1861], 5–18; *U. S. Fifteenth Census: 1930, Manufactures,* III, 466–67.)

[22] *History of Labour in the United States, ed.* John R. Commons (4 vols., New York, 1918–35), I, 185–230.

[23] It seems reasonable to estimate that conditions of work in groups prevailed in all lines of activity where the average size of the establishment was fifteen or more. (William M. Hench, *Trends in the Size of Industrial Companies in Philadelphia for 1915–1930* [Philadelphia, 1948], 7–8, 21–23; *U. S. Fourteenth Census: 1920,* IX, *Manufactures,* 1277; *U. S. Fifteenth Census: 1930, Manufactures,* III, 444, *Wholesale Distribution,* II, 1262–67; Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry, "Employment Fluctuations in Pennsylvania 1921–1927," *Special Bulletin 24* [Harrisburg, 1928], 30.)

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In the simplest sense this transformation of the organization of work had the effect of creating a new lattice of loyalties and social relationships in the city. If factoryworkers may be taken as indicative of the behavior of clerical and retail help, then the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School studies show that most city dwellers in the 1920's settled down to more or less permanent jobs after four or five years of shopping around.[24] It seems fair to reason that in time the men and women of his work group must have become important members of a worker's social life and that the group must have become a source of discipline, loyalty, and culture in its own right. These were some of the positive results of removing a large fraction of the city's work force from entrepreneurial roles.[25]

Research on the historical interactions between the group organization of work and urban residential environments is not yet fairly begun, yet such research seems to hold great promise for extending our comprehension of the processes of urban history. In my own study of Philadelphia I have found that even such simple information as the average size of establishment by industry adds significantly to the understanding of such important events as the rise and decline of unions and strikes, epidemics of street violence, and the development of an isolated mill-town culture in one quarter of Philadelphia as opposed to the suburban-downtown white-collar culture of another quarter.[26]

To sum up, what in the way of intellectual scaffolding for urban history does this survey of Philadelphia offer? It provides a descriptive framework relating changes in scale to changes in structure.

First, at each period of Philadelphia's history (1774, 1860, 1930) the city had grown to a radically different size, from 24,000 to 566,000 to 1,951,000. The proportions of the social elements of the city were thoroughly altered by such shifts, as were all the city's environments. The basic distribution of the city's jobs and houses according to core and ring varied with each period, and the variations depended directly upon rapid urban growth. The implications of such changes in social geography for political institutions, communications within the city, municipal institutions, and informal associations

[24] Anne Bezanson *et al., Four Years of Labor Mobility: A Study of Labor Turnover from a Group of Selected Plants in Philadelphia, 1921–1924* (Philadelphia, 1925), 70–96.

[25] A good way to get some feeling for the issues of urban work groups would be to look at the data in *The Pittsburgh Survey,* ed. Paul U. Kellogg (6 vols., New York, 1909–14), in the light of the suggestions of Robert Blauner, *Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry* (Chicago, 1964); and Marc Fried, "The Role of Work in a Mobile Society," *Planning for a Nation of Cities,* ed. Sam Bass Warner, Jr. (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 81–104.

[26] *Id., The Private City.*

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have yet to be explored with any thoroughness. Here is a great opportunity for studies of small areas that would reinterpret the materials of local history.

Second, the occupational history of the city changed according to the sequences suggested by current generalizations of economic history. The very conformity of Philadelphia to these generalizations suggests that the city responded to advances in transportation, business organization, and technology as a member of a large Atlantic economy and society.

Third, the social geography of industrialization appears to have been one of complex changes. The interaction of the events of industrialization with those of rapid growth seems to have shifted residential segregation away from clustering by occupations toward clustering by classes, ethnicity, and race. Studies of these events are just beginning.[27]

Fourth, industrialization populated the city with a new set of social units: work groups. The nature of these groups, their number, and their impact upon other events in the history of large cities changed significantly over time. Again, the subject is unexplored and calls for research that combines local and institutional history.

Altogether the Philadelphia data confirm the utility of Mumford's descriptive sociotechnical categories and the economic historians' developmental sequences as a useful basis for analysis of the history of any large modern city, or for the comparison of different cities. The unities of scale, social structure, economic institutions, and technology at various stages in the modern process of industrialization and urbanization are inescapable.

This article is offered as the first attempt to discover and arrange the data for one large modern city in such a way that historians may find evidence of the processes they have long speculated upon. It is hoped, further, that the data concerning Philadelphia will give urban historians a scaffolding on which to build the studies of small areas that are required for the history of changing urban environments. Since the data are simple, moreover, their systematic arrangement should encourage historians of other cities to make comparisons that will enable us to say if all the world really was Philadelphia.

[27] There is a suggestive study of Manhattan in 1840 that unfortunately suffers from the incompleteness of street directory data: Allan R. Pred, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* LVI (June 1966), 307–38.

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Smuggling and the British Tea Trade before 1784

HOH-CHEUNG and LORNA H. MUI

SMUGGLERS have a secure place in adventure stories, and the difficulties in which the East India Company found itself in the 1770's, in part because of the activities of smugglers of tea, are firmly established as contributory to the American Revolution. This article, so far as the Revolution is concerned, can explain how some of those troubles arose; it may also help to bring smuggling down from the heady realms of romance to the workaday business it was in fact. It is only recently, however, that we have become fully aware of the importance of smuggling in European economic history—not only in detracting from legitimate trade and profits but, more positively, in contributing significant innovations in the methods of trade and in promoting economic growth. The fortunes of the British tea trade in the mid-eighteenth century are peculiarly well adapted to illustrating this neglected truth.

In describing the British tea trade before 1784, historians have recognized the importance of fluctuations in the quantities smuggled into the country, but they have not succeeded in establishing a definitive set of figures. The two most recent and elaborate calculations, while agreeing on the importance of smuggling, have arrived at substantially different results even for the years immediately preceding 1784. Using similar figures and assumptions, one estimates the quantity smuggled to be about 7,500,000 pounds a year, and the other, between 4,000,000 and 6,000,000 pounds.[1] The purpose here is not to add a third set of calculations but to describe the organization of the trade. To do so will reveal that, during the two

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[1] Cf. Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident, le commerce à Canton au* XVIII *siècle, 1719–1833* (4 vols., Paris, 1964), II, 673–74, 677–78; and W. A. Cole, "Trends in Eighteenth-Century Smuggling," *Economic History Review,* 2d Ser., X (No. 3, 1958), 396, 405–407. The basic assumption, simply stated, is that a fall in the real price of tea would be matched by a corresponding rise in the average per head consumption of "roughly the same magnitude." (*Ibid.,* 404.) Both Dermigny and Cole start with a similar fall in percentage in the real price between 1773–1783 and 1789–1790, but the point of departure lies in calculating the corresponding rise in consumption (Dermigny, *Chine,* II, 677, n. 1), and from this difference the divergent results have ensued.

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decades after the Seven Years' War, a radical change took place in the extent and structure of the illicit trade that in turn significantly modified the legal or fair trade. After the war wealthy British merchants with far-flung interests largely replaced the many relatively small-scale local smugglers. By developing more efficient means of transportation, by taking advantage of international facilities for capital and credit, and by invading established channels of legal distribution, the illicit trader was able to engross a large share of the market.

The new system of smuggling posed a serious threat to the legal trade and aroused the opposition of such vested interests as the leading London wholesale dealers and their copartners, the directors of the East India Company. But if the legal purveyors of tea suffered from the impact of the illicit innovators, the competition between the two groups led to a vastly expanded market for tea. When William Pitt finally agreed in 1784 to reduce drastically the tax on tea, the potential demand was such as to assure the government that its future revenues would more than compensate for any immediate loss. But for the legal trade, that tax reduction meant salvation.

As Adam Smith warned the government, a highly taxed article, if in demand, would find a means of evading the additional charges. Tea was his primary evidence.[2] Until the Commutation Act of 1784, the tax was rarely below 80 and frequently over 100 per cent of the original cost.[3] This was the margin upon which illegal importers and sellers built a trade that fluctuated with the availability of tax-free tea. Of the several methods of evading the tax, two, while not trifling, made a relatively small impact upon the London dealer: smuggling from the East Indiamen and the relanding on the British coast of exported tea. The former was probably the cheaper source for tax-free tea, but no regular trade could be built upon a supply that was neither sufficiently large nor constant in amount. Scattered evidence indicates that quantities varying from as little as 60 chests (or 4,800 to 6,000 pounds) to as much as 1,000 to 3,000 chests might be illicitly removed from an East Indiaman either outside territorial waters, or on the way up the

[2] Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations,* ed. Edwin Cannan (Modern Library ed., New York, 1937), 832, 834–35.

[3] "An Account of the Quantities of Tea retained for Home Consumption in the United Kingdom; the Rates of Duty chargeable thereon, and the Net Receipt of Duty by the Customs and Excise, in each Year from 1740 to 1844 inclusive" [hereafter cited as "Tea retained for Home Consumption"], *Parliamentary Papers* [hereafter cited as *BPP*], 1845, XLVI, *Accounts and Papers* (21 vols., London, 1845), XIX, No. 191. Until 1784 all duty included a per pound and an ad valorem rate based on the sale price at the company's auctions so that the percentage rates are only approximations. (See, e.g., the calculated percentages in Cole, "Trends in Eighteenth-Century Smuggling," 399.)

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Thames, or even after arrival at Deptford.[4] While enriching the servants of the East India Company and contributing to colorful stories vividly told in contemporary reports and personal memoirs,[5] such smuggling was more in the nature of an annoyance than a threat to the London dealers and a matter of particular concern to the company. But the company, though more lenient than its continental counterparts, did not ignore such evasion.[6] By the 1770's the company began to enforce its rules with something more than its usual laxity.[7]

The surreptitious return to the British coast of exported tea had a more complicated effect on the legal trade. All exported tea moved in the first instance through legal channels: it was put up for sale at the company's auctions and bought by London wholesalers or merchants and exported by them. As such the trade represented, at least at the outset, a legitimate source of income to the London dealers. The moralist may question whether the export of tea for the purpose of relanding, or fictitious export, was indeed a completely fair trade. Some dealers thought so, but were no less active during the 1770's in urging the government to suppress smuggling[8] as every pound exported and clandestinely relanded competed on the domestic market with their own highly taxed article.

But the quantity of exported tea available to the illicit trade depended largely upon whether or not the drawback of the import duty was allowed. During the years 1745–1767 no drawback was allowed, and we can assume that almost all tea exported in that period remained at its place of destination. The larger quantities exported before 1745 and after 1767, as shown in Table I, give some indication of the amount in the fictitious export trade, but do not reflect its real magnitude.

[4] Sir Evan Cotton, *East Indiamen* (London, 1949), 38; Account of Teas Exported from China, Public Record Office [hereafter cited as PRO] 30/8/293, fol. 1; T. Pownall, Observations on Plan to Prevent Smuggling, Jan. 26, 1783, *ibid.*, fols. 4–5.

[5] William Richardson to Pitt, July 5, 1784, *ibid.*, fol. 45; India Office Home Miscellaneous Series [hereafter cited as IO Home Misc.], CDXCVII, 335–36; C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas* (Cambridge, Eng., 1937), esp. 204; Cotton, *East Indiamen*, 37–40; Lord Teignmouth and C. G. Harper, *The Smugglers, Picturesque Chapters in the History of Contraband* (2 vols., London, 1923).

[6] Account of Teas Exported from China, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 1; Cotton, *East Indiamen*, 122–40; Dermigny, *Chine*, I, 265 ff.

[7] For the company's warnings and advertisements, see Instructions to Supercargoes, Dec. 4, 1777, IO China Misc. (1771–92), 232–33; IO Misc. Letters Out, XXVIII, 472–73, 484–89, 491–92; XXIX, 142–43; XXXI, 10–11, 457–59; London *Morning Herald*, June 26, 1786. For cooperation with customs, see IO Home Misc., CLXXV, 497–98, the case of the *Locko* (1783); CDXCVII, 336–42, the case of the *Dublin* (1786); IO Misc. Letters Out, XXIX, 221–22, 504, 531, 563–64; Henry Atton and H. H. Holland, *The King's Customs* (2 vols., London, 1908–11), I, 328–29. For specific cases indicative of the company's policy, see Cotton, *East Indiamen*, 38–39; IO Secret Court, Minutes, Jan. 31, 1787, no pagination, for the dismissal of George Crauford, a gunner of the ship *Deptford*, for having assisted in smuggling.

[8] See, e.g., Memorial of Davison, Newman & Co. to Pitt, July 3, 1784, PRO 30/8/293, fols. 39–40.

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Table I
Six-Year Averages of Tea Exported from Britain[9]

Years	Tea (in 000 lbs.)
1740–45	518
1746–51	298
1761–66	525
1767–72	1,200

Even in the periods when the drawback was allowed, that portion of the tea entered for export to the American colonies would be on the whole legitimate. As neither the drawback nor the bonded security, which was double the value of the tea, was released until a certificate of landing at the destination was secured, it is not likely that tea intended for illicit relanding would be entered for export to America. Whatever fraudulent methods were used to evade the law, no merchant would wish to tie up his capital for a year, the approximate time required for a return voyage to the American colonies. By entering the tea for export to Ireland, the merchant could secure the release of the bonded security and the drawback in a matter of weeks. The rise in the percentage of tea exported to Ireland is therefore a better gauge of the increase in fictitious exports. During the years 1755–1764 about 50.5 per cent of the total exports were destined for Ireland; in the decade of 1768–1777 they rose to 71 per cent. In average annual quantities the rise was spectacular, from slightly under 185,000 pounds to 920,000 pounds for the same periods. By 1780 exports to Ireland reached 1,700,000 pounds.[10] The whole of the increase should probably not be attributed to the circuitous illegal trade, but the sudden and sustained rise after 1767 is unmistakable evidence of this type of evasion.[11]

Far more important than these methods of smuggling was the illicit importation of tax-free tea from European countries. Among these, France and Holland had been trading with China from the early part of the

[9] For the source of Table I, see Table IV, pages 67–68.

[10] Figures are calculated from Table IV, pages 67–68. The quantities exported to Ireland included those for the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. (See Robert Wissett, *Compendium of East India Affairs* [2 vols., London, 1802], II, 106, whose annual totals are identical with those in E. B. Schumpeter, *English Overseas Trade Statistics, 1697–1808* [Oxford, Eng., 1960], 60–61.) There is, however, among the Liverpool Papers, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts [hereafter cited as BM, Add. MSS.] 38,337, fol. 159, a Customs Account (Jan. 31, 1764) of tea exported from midsummer 1749 to 1763 distinguishing quantities for Ireland and America. While the annual totals varied slightly from those given in Schumpeter, the total for the fifteen years differed less than 1 per cent; over the period, the total of tea exported to Ireland was 45.67 per cent of all export. In the light of these figures, Dermigny's comparisons (*Chine*, II, 631–32) of total export with total consumption in Britain and the analysis based on them would seem to suggest larger quantities of fictitious export than there could possibly be.

[11] Report of Commissioners of Excise on Smuggling, Feb. 15, 1783, in *Eighteenth Century Documents Relating to . . . Smuggling . . .*, ed. A. L. Cross (New York, 1928), 316–17.

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century, Sweden and Denmark mainly from the 1730's, and occasionally Portugal and Spain. The Holy Roman Empire intermittently gave its sanction and protection to a varying group of interlopers operating under the name of the Imperial Company. For purchases in China, the French, Swedes, and Danes were financed largely in Europe. The Dutch bartered spices from Batavia for tea, and the Imperial Company was dependent mainly upon British capital. With varying success, most sought to tap the resources of European remittances from India and China or those of the country traders in Asia. But, with the exception of Holland, most countries depended primarily on the smuggling trade to dispose of their tea.[12]

The European companies were unencumbered with import taxes, had larger ships than the British and, more significantly, "comparatively low freight and other charges," as the directors of the English company admitted.[13] Besides importing a much larger annual quantity, continental companies obtained, until the years after 1784, tea of superior quality. Contemporaries reported that the Swedes "got the best tea" by contracting in advance with the silver they brought to China; the credit of the Danes "was tolerably well established at Canton"; and the French were willing to pay more than the English and thus obtained superior qualities.[14] Only the Dutch had acquired a reputation for bringing to Europe "teas of the worst qualities," the refuse of all other nations; thus, "Dutch tea is become a name for all that are bad in quality and unfit for [British?] use."[15]

Of the kinds annually exported from China, the general categories of black and green were further distinguished into several qualities. In an ascending order of fineness, the former included bohea, congou, and souchong, and the latter, singlo and hyson. There were in addition small quantities of such kinds as pekoe, the finest of the black, and twankay and hyson skin, of medium quality among the green. In 1784 one of the most knowledgeable among Pitt's informants voiced the judgment of tea

[12] The European companies are described in Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fols. 243–43b; Observations on the Affairs of the E.I.C., 1773–86, IO Home Misc., CCCXL, fol. 307; Francis Drake, Observations on the Trade between Denmark and Asia, *ibid.*, LVII, fols. 229 ff. Among standard studies, see esp. John Bruce, *Historical View of Plans for the Government of British India and Regulations of Trade to the East Indies* (London, 1793), 229. Among modern studies, see H. B. Morse, *Chronicles of the E.I.C. Trading with China, 1635–1834* (5 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1926), I, 295–96; II, 11–12, 84; V, 156, 171, 177, 186, 191; E. H. Pritchard, "Struggle for Control of the China Trade during the Eighteenth Century," *Pacific Historical Review*, III (No. 3, 1934), 280–95. Dermigny (*Chine*, I, esp. 160 ff.) gives the early history of these companies and is exhaustive on the French (esp. II, 563–80, 840–79). There is much information on these companies in Europe and their activities in India in Holden Furber, *John Company at Work* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).

[13] IO Court Minutes, XCIII, 166–67.

[14] Richardson to Pitt, June 20, 1784, PRO 30/8/293, fols. 17–17b.

[15] Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/354, fol. 247.

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dealers that the imports of the English company were not properly assorted to suit British needs.[16] His specific charge that the company had failed to supply a sufficient quantity of congou, a tea that had become particularly popular in the smuggling trade,[17] is, indeed, supported by a comparison of English with European assortments. Of the quantity sold by the English company in the years 1772–1781, the proportion of congou varied from 5.9 to 9.5 per cent (or 279,600 to 733,700 pounds); among European imports, on the other hand, for the season 1783–1784 congou represented 31.4 per cent (or 3,580,000 pounds) of the total quantity of fourteen cargoes.[18]

[16] *Ibid.*, fol. 246b; Richard Twining, *Observations on the Tea and Window Act and on the Tea Trade* (London, 1784), 17, 48.

[17] For the popularity of congou, see below, pages 55–56, 64.

[18] The following table gives the complete assortments, in percentages and total quantities, of the English and continental supplies of tea:

English and European Assortments of Tea (in percentages)

	East India Company, 1772–81	Europe, 1783–84				Total Continental Europe	Denmark	
		France	Imperial Company	Sweden	Denmark		1785	1786
Bohea	56.0	68.9	46.7	48.5	55.3	53.0	45.7	39.2
Congou	7.0	9.8	29.3	43.2	30.1	31.4	30.8	37.0
Souchong	1.5	1.1	2.5	.8	7.5	2.7	13.8	18.9
Singlo	30.6	5.0	17.8	6.1	4.6	9.4	6.4	3.1
Hyson	3.5	15.1	3.6	1.4	2.5	3.5	3.3	1.8
Private trade	1.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total quantity (in 000 lbs.)	5,891	1,876	2,774	4,221	2,518	11,389	2,372	1,930

English figures are calculated from those given in "Statement of the Number of Pounds Weight of each of the different Varieties of Tea sold by the East India Company in each year from 1740 down to the Termination of the Company's Sales, together with the Average Prices at which such Teas were Sold" [hereafter cited as "Tea sold by EIC"], *BPP*, 1845, XLVI, No. 191. Continental figures are calculated from Richard Atkinson to Pitt, C. 1784 (internal evidence), PRO 30/8/294, fols. 137–48; Francis Baring, Ships in Canton, Tea at Gothenburg, and Sale at Lorient, Aug. 16, 1784, *ibid.*, fols. 183–84; and Various Accounts of Tea in Denmark, *ibid.*, fols. 67, 204; Drake, Observations, IO Home Misc., LVII, 245. The accounts of the assortment for countries other than Denmark in 1785 and 1786 are incomplete. (See PRO 30/8/293, fols. 189–91b, 193, 205; *ibid.*, 30/8/294, fol. 72.) All continental figures represented quantities arrived in the year specified. As two years were required for a return voyage to China, the Danish assortments for 1785–1786 were ordered before and during 1784 and thus were unaffected by the Commutation Act. For 1782–1783 the proportion of congou was 22.2 per cent of the total sale of the English company, but the sudden increase would seem to indicate the special efforts that the company made to fight smuggling. Even then, the absolute quantity for the two years was only 2,690,000 pounds. It should, moreover, be noted that during the 1740's continental Europeans used to import mostly low-quality tea. (See Sir Stephen T. Janssen, *Smuggling Laid Open, in All Its Extensive and Destructive Branches* [2d ed., London, 1767], 12.) For annual quantities imported by individual countries from 1768 to 1791, see PRO 30/8/294, fols. 70, 118; the table in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 539, includes only seven- or eight-year averages, and none of these distinguish the various kinds of tea.

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When the ships from China arrived, the tea was usually sold at auction within the country to which each ship belonged. Tea shipped to Britain from each European country followed special routes to particular areas, all of which had been established from the 1740's, although none claimed an exclusive right. From Sweden and Denmark, a part of the tea was customarily smuggled, when the shipping season allowed, directly to the west and east coast of Scotland as well as to Ireland. In the winter season it was first dispatched to Dunkirk, Ostend, and Flushing where it was sometimes resold for shipment to the south, east, and west coast of England and to Scotland. In France the chief centers of sale were Lorient and Nantes, and by the 1760's Roscoff had become one of the major ports from which tea was sent to the east, south, and west of England. For smuggling into Britain, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, neither of which came under British customs regulations, served as strategic entrepôts for tea coming from various European countries.[19]

While the tea trade on the Continent had early been concentrated in the hands of affluent merchants who could purchase relatively large quantities of tea, smuggling into Britain before the 1760's was mostly dominated by many small-scale local importers with little capital or credit. Their boats ranged from small sloops down to wherries or large rowboats,[20] the carrying capacity of which rarely exceeded sixty chests of tea and was often much less.[21] Usually unarmed, they relied on their ability to evade detection and on the undercover assistance of the local inhabitants.[22] Individual shipments often required the financial cooperation of several purchasers who gave their money and orders to the boat's captain. He in turn sailed to Ireland, the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man, or sometimes to a ship hovering off the coast to purchase the tea, usually for cash. Some captains might sail directly to Europe if their boats were large enough and if they were familiar with the trading connections on the Continent.[23]

[19] The above account is based on "Report, Committee to Investigate the Causes of Smuggling" in *The Journal of the House of Commons* (117 vols., London, 1803–63), XXV, 101, 106; Tea Dealers' Memorial to Treasury, Feb. 4, 1779, Her Majesty's Customs Library [hereafter cited as HMCL], Excise and Treasury, XIX, 449–50; Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fols. 243–45; IO Court Minutes, XCV, Pt. A, 711. Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 660 ff., is especially full on the sales and routes of smuggling from France, and IV, Pt. 1, *Les Routes*, 12, prints a map showing the general routes of smuggling from the Continent. For the Isle of Man, see R. C. Jarvis, "Illicit Trade with the Isle of Man," *Transactions, Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, LVIII (1945–46), 245–67.

[20] Excise Report, Dec. 4, 1783, HMCL Scottish Excise and Treasury, I, 151–56.

[21] Excise Report, June 23, 1783, *ibid.*, 130–31.

[22] Excise Report, Apr. 5, 1787, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XXIII, 39.

[23] Mémoire de Foucaud, fols. 283–84, in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 665–66, describes the visits of English smugglers in Roscoff and the social and religious as well as gastronomical problems that were raised.

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But however the tea was purchased, the transactions were simple and direct, charges for transportation comparatively low, and the individual quantities involved relatively small. Once landed, the illegal tea was primarily traded by local retailers whose market was necessarily restricted. In Scotland before the 1770's, an "extensive dealer" would have been one "who ordered ten chests of Congou (value £130) for his account and risk," and in the south of England the very small dealer could obtain his supply from the hawker who sold it by the dollop of 2 ½ pounds.[24] The average provincial shopkeeper had little general knowledge of the tea trade and lacked the financial resources and business contacts to expand his trade. On the other hand, by drawing on the smugglers, he was able to undersell the highly taxed article of the fair-trade dealers within his locality. Tea could be hawked, moreover, through the countryside. Especially when large quantities had been brought ashore, some did, indeed, find its way to London, but there is little evidence of an extensive network of distribution. This diffuse, informal, and more or less personal trade was the traditional form of smuggling throughout the eighteenth century and was never completely eliminated. Its effect on the demand for legal tea, however, was not wholly negative: a coastal trade, it introduced to villagers far removed from the influence of the fashionable world a new and relatively inexpensive beverage and thus extended the potential market for legal tea.

For the legal trade in highly taxed tea, London was the importing and distributing center. Controlled at the place of entry by the East India Company, the inland distribution and the export trade were in the hands of the leading London wholesalers who purchased tea at the company's semi-annual auctions and whose interests were often, but not always, identical with those of the company. As long as the demand for legal tea increased, both the company and the London wholesalers were assured of a relatively stable and profitable business within the market area under their control. The interest of the legal traders would be threatened if their market contracted, as it did by 50 per cent in 1742–1743,[25] or when that of the free traders expanded at a faster rate than theirs. In either situation, in order to price his highly taxed article within a competitive range, the London wholesaler would have to reduce his costs.

During the twenty years following the tax reform of 1745, the legal trade does not seem to have suffered unduly from the competition of tax-free tea.

[24] Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 245; Richardson to Pitt, July 6, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/293, fol. 45.

[25] This was calculated from Table IV, pages 67–68. The contraction was largely the result of an upsurge in smuggling that led to the reform of 1745.

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Despite the gradual rise of customs duties, the average annual quantities of tea sold by the East India Company increased from 2,450,000 pounds in 1744–1746 to 5,580,000 in 1764–1766. At the same time the bid-up prices at the company's auctions, compared with those at Amsterdam, remained relatively high.[26] It is perhaps not surprising that neither the company nor the London wholesalers thought it worth their while to protest against smuggling.

The cost of tea to the London wholesaler was regulated by a number of variables. As the first seller the company set the prices for each kind at which the bidding was to commence. These put-up prices were calculated to cover prime cost, freight, charges of merchandise such as supercargoes' commission and expenses of the company's establishment at Canton, insurance, interest, and the customs duty—an ad valorem tax assessed on the sale value of the tea and paid by the company. The tea, auctioned by lots of varying numbers of chests of the same kind, could be bought by the dealers at the minimum advance of a penny above the put-up price. That portion destined for inland distribution was charged an additional excise duty, which was paid by the dealers upon the removal of the tea from the company's warehouses. In 1745 the excise tax of four shillings per pound weight was replaced by one shilling plus an ad valorem duty of 25 per cent of the bid-up price.[27] A rise in the bid-up price would, therefore, increase not only the initial cost but also that portion of the excise duty calculated on an ad valorem basis. There was, of course, also the broker's fee, generally computed at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the gross value of the tea.

That the conditions of trade after 1745 were sufficiently satisfactory to at least the major London wholesalers may be illustrated by the prices they were willing to pay for bohea at the auctions of the East India Company. If the import and sale of tax-free tea encroached upon that of the legal trade, such competition would have been reflected in particular in the prices paid for bohea. It was the kind most commonly smuggled into Britain before the Seven Years' War and, in addition, represented over 50 per cent of the total quantity of tea sold by the company. Table II, on the following page, summarizes for the years 1745–1764 the average quantities sold and the prices of bohea at the company's auctions. The figures suggest a profitable and brisk trade, with the company receiving a handsome return on its investments, while the London wholesalers were not hesitating to buy bohea

[26] For English quantities, see Table IV, pages 67–68. for Dutch prices, see Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 546–48.

[27] The cost to the wholesaler is based on the calculations of the company's accountant in IO Home Misc., CDI, 122, Appendix No. 2.

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Table II
Quantities and Prices of Bohea, 1745–1764[28]

Periods	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1745–49	1,298.8	54	24	43.46	81	22.86	66.3	27.7
1750–54	1,644.8	54	24	34.36	43	20.59	54.9	18.6
1755–59	2,204.3	59	24	36.64	53	21.16	57.8	20.7
1760–64	3,095.9	65	24	37.74	57	21.43	59.2	26.6

at prices, even without excise charges, well above those obtained on the European markets.

The end of the Seven Years' War, however, marked a turning point in the fortunes of both the legal and the illegal trade. For the years 1763–1769 total exports from China increased by 70 per cent over the previous seven years. The market for tea in Britain was no doubt expanding under the influence of a general increase in economic activities, but while the company's sales increased 23 per cent, imports into Europe rose by 51 per cent. During the war the quantities of tea imported by continental companies had declined almost to the level of the 1740's: from an annual average of 8,700,000 pounds in 1749–1755 to 6,800,000 pounds in 1756–1762. With the exception of one year, 1759, no French ship ventured to China, and even the Dutch trade fell off. Given an annual consumption in Europe estimated at approximately 5,000,000–6,000,000 pounds,[29] there was probably no great surplus of tea for smuggling into Britain during the war. But with the return to peacetime activities the European trade experienced a rapid and sustained rise. For the years 1763–1769 annual imports averaged 10,300,000 pounds and reached 13,400,000 pounds throughout the following fifteen years.[30] Within less than a decade European trade with China had almost doubled.

This vastly expanded trade was aimed primarily at the British market. Such a radical increase in quantities available for smuggling into Britain

[28] The numbers in parentheses denote the following: (1) average annual quantities sold by the East India Company (in 000 lbs.); (2) percentage of total quantities sold by the East India Company; (3) put-up prices at East India Company auctions (in pence); (4) bid-up prices at East India Company auctions (in pence); (5) percentage rise over put-up prices; (6) excise charges of 1*s.* plus 25 per cent ad valorem (in pence); (7) total cost to dealers, less 6½ per cent allowed customarily by East India Company (in pence); (8) Dutch prices (in pence, converted to English equivalent from table in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 546–47). In this table quantities and bid-up prices are calculated from "Tea sold by EIC"; put-up prices in PRO 30/8/293, fol. 23. Excise charges are calculated according to the formula followed by the company's accountant as set out in table in IO Home Misc., CDI, 122, Appendix No. 2. The excise rates are taken from Tea retained for Home Consumption.

[29] These figures were calculated from the table of seven- and eight-year averages in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 539; for European consumption, see, e.g., Francis Baring to Pitt, July 4, 1785, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 173b.

[30] It should be noted that this is in marked contrast to the fluctuations in other branches of the overseas trade for the years 1765–1769. (Cf. T. S. Ashton, *Economic Fluctuations in England, 1700–1800* [Oxford, Eng., 1959], 153–54.)

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upset, moreover, the equilibrium between the legal and illicit trade that for the previous two decades had enabled each to control its own market relatively unaffected by the other. In the competition that ensued the balance lay with the free traders, and the rivalry between the two groups brought the prices of tea within the reach of a wider public and at the same time extended the network of distribution.

The London wholesalers were not slow to react to the threat from across the Channel. At the company's auctions in 1766 they demonstrated the power of concerted action by substantially lowering the bid-up prices for all kinds of tea: that for bohea fell from 39.5*d.*, the average price in 1765, to 30.6*d.*, or a drop of 22.5 per cent. At the same time pressure was exerted on the government, and in the following year Parliament was persuaded to reduce the duties on tea. The excise charge of one shilling per pound on all kinds of black tea and one kind of green, singlo, altogether representing about 90 per cent of the tea handled by the dealers, was removed for a period of five years on condition that the company reimburse the government if the reduction should result in any loss of revenue.[31] The experiment initially proved highly successful, at least for the London dealers. Sales jumped from an annual average of 5,500,000 pounds in 1764–1766 to 8,800,000 pounds in 1768–1770; the profits of the company, on the other hand, were pared to the minimum, especially for the most popular teas. By 1769 the dealers were buying bohea for as little as 24.6*d*. Thus within a short period of four years prices for bohea had declined by 40 per cent. Even with the 25 per cent ad valorem excise charges that still remained on tea for home consumption, the average cost to the wholesaler for bohea was only 30.75*d*. Although continental prices had fallen slightly, bohea still commanded 24*d*. on the Amsterdam market during the years 1768–1770.[32] For the first time in the century, London wholesalers could contemplate underselling tax-free European tea; a difference of about 6*d*. between European and London prices would hardly cover the costs of transportation. The fate of smuggling was now at stake, a matter of no little consequence to those dealers engaged in it.

The London wholesalers were not allowed to enjoy their buoyant market for long. Francis Garratt, a prominent London tea dealer, recalled that there was soon "created a speculative spirit on the market."[33] In 1770 the March

[31] 8 Geo. III, c. 25. For the politics involved, see L. S. Sutherland, *East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics* (Oxford, Eng., 1952), 138–76.

[32] Amsterdam prices are converted to their English equivalent according to table in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 546–48; all English quantities and prices are calculated from "Tea sold by EIC."

[33] Garratt to Henry Dundas, July 22, 1800, National Library of Scotland [hereafter cited as NLS], Melville Papers, MS. 1063, fol. 173.

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sale prices for bohea increased to 32.5*d.*, and by the September sale had reached 39*d.*[34] The directors of the company must have welcomed the rise, but to the fair-trade dealer it posed a serious threat. For the smugglers, nothing could have been more fortunate. With bohea costing the London wholesaler 46*d.*, even without the one-shilling duty, the illicit trade was again on a profitable footing. The London wholesalers registered their lack of confidence by reducing purchases, and sales fell from a high of 9,400,000 pounds in 1769 to 6,700,000 in 1771, a figure rarely exceeded in the following thirteen years. At the end of the five-year period, it was generally acknowledged that the revision of the duties had proved a failure. The speculators had succeeded in defeating the good intentions of the government and the hopes of the fair-trade dealers. As sales had not increased sufficiently to cover the loss of revenue occasioned by the removal of the one-shilling duty, moreover, the company was required to reimburse the government. The company's difficulties were compounded by the accumulation of a large stock of unsold tea in its warehouses and a decline in per unit profit. When the one-shilling duty was restored, the bid-up price dropped.[35]

At the same time the temporary fiscal reform had affected the European market. As continental prices for bohea had dropped at the end of the Seven Years' War, there was little room for the European importers to maneuver. According to one calculation, which tends to understate the prices in Canton,[36] the difference between the prime cost of bohea in China and the selling price in Europe was only 11*d.* per pound at Copenhagen and 12*d.* at Amsterdam. The charges at Canton, in addition to the freight and other expenses, would have left little in the way of profit to the importer. Threatened with possible ruin if they continued to depend upon the sale of bohea, particularly if prices remained low in London, the Danes and Swedes revised their assortments by importing from China more expensive and finer quality teas, notably congou.[37] At Canton the price of congou averaged about twice that of bohea. As the English East India Company sold little congou (under 200,000 pounds), and as its cost price to the London dealers, even

[34] From table in *Advice to the Unwary* (London, 1780), facing 4, a pamphlet prepared by the Tea Dealers' Association assisted by the East India Company. The table is especially revealing as it gives the quantities and prices for each semiannual auction.

[35] *Ibid.* The seventeen million pounds of unsold tea that had accumulated in the company's warehouse by 1773 precipitated another series of events that led to the famous tea party at Boston harbor. (See M. M. Postan and H. J. Habakkuk, general eds., *Cambridge Economic History of Europe* [6 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1941–67], IV, 298.)

[36] Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 545, n. 5, 546–48, uses for the period under consideration figures given by Morse in *Chronicles of the E.I.C.*, whose prices were those paid by the British. But during these years the British tended to purchase low-quality tea while the Danish tea, for example, was considered of better quality.

[37] Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 243.

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without the one-shilling duty, was well above five shillings, there was much opportunity for illicit congou. The smugglers seem to have found it profitable. Within a decade congou became one of the most popular black teas in Britain, particularly in the north where the most noticeable changes in the method of smuggling were taking place. The upgrading of the British taste for tea may perhaps be justly attributed to the competition created by the unsuccessful attempt to discourage smuggling.

The reimposition in 1772 of the one-shilling duty gave added impetus to European importers and marked the second phase of the competition between legal and illegal tea. In this uneven battle the London wholesaler succeeded in holding down the price of legal tea by reducing both his and the East India Company's markup; even so, there was little chance that his tea would undersell that of the illicit trade. Commanding the major lines of distribution and having a better knowledge of the art of buying and blending various qualities of tea, the London dealer had certain advantages, but in the end he had to seek the protection of stricter laws and their more effective enforcement. The changing situation forced the illicit traders to a new exercise of their ingenuity; they succeeded not only in importing larger quantities but also in devising effective means of distributing tea to inland centers.

The most visible evidence of the power and financial resources of the illicit trade was what Scottish excise officers referred to as the "new mode" of smuggling. In contrast to the traditional small, unarmed boat, there appeared on the British coast the large, well-armed vessel. As described in an excise report of 1778, the armed smuggling ships along the coast of Norfolk and Yorkshire were between 100 and 180 tons and carried 20 to 60 men each. Those along the coast of Wales and the west of England were "of still greater strength"—from 150 to 200 tons with 16 to 18 guns.[38] On the west coast of Scotland some ships were as large as 230 to 300 tons, mounted with 20 to 24 guns and carrying 50 to 80 men.[39] A detailed survey of 26 of the 53 excise collections in England and Wales enumerated no less than 250 vessels in the illicit carrying trade off the coast, and Scottish excise officials reported an additional 37 in their waters.[40] While neither report distin-

[38] Excise Report, Mar. 24, 1778, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 367.

[39] Excise Report, Dec. 4, 1783, HMCL Scottish Excise and Treasury, I, 152, 157; Excise Report, Dec. 1, 1785, *ibid.*, II, 60–63.

[40] Excise Report on Smuggling, c. 1777 (internal evidence), PRO 30/8/283, fols. 187–88b. Some of these collections included Canterbury, Richmond, Rochester, Suffolk, Sussex, Essex, and the Isle of Wight; for Scottish ships, see Excise Report, Dec. 1, 1785, HMCL Scottish Excise and Treasury, II, 60–63.

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guished the number of ships according to size, both emphasized the armed strength and the increased tonnage of the new ships.

The carrying capacity of the contraband fleet had certainly grown. Although there is no account of the total quantity smuggled by the large vessels, the record that the Scottish excise kept of one cutter seems to represent the upper limit of the average cargo. That cutter was equipped with 24 guns, which placed it among the largest ships. In May 1783 it landed on the west coast of Scotland 700 chests of tea and 500 ankers of spirits, returned in October with 400 chests and 200 bags of tea together with 840 ankers of spirits, and again in November with 600 chests and 300 bags of tea.[41] Calculated on the common equivalent of 80 pounds to a chest and 27½ pounds to each bag, the amount of smuggled tea totaled 157,750 pounds for the three voyages. On the English ships the average cargo of tea was estimated at only 24,000 pounds since they carried as many as 3,000 ankers of spirits.[42] Although large vessels never completely replaced small boats, they came to control a greater share of the contraband traffic.

The illicit carrying trade was itself a profitable venture. The prevailing freight rates on the large ships were 6*d*. per pound of tea and 2*s*.6*d*. per anker of spirits, with tea yielding a somewhat higher return than spirits. On the Scottish run, the gross income from freight for a large ship was thus higher, about £1,000 per voyage, than on the English, which averaged about £558. The Scottish shipowners had, moreover, the advantage of lower initial costs. The estimated first cost of the Scottish ship was about £1,000; that of the English was said to be almost double that amount. The operating expenses were also higher on the English ships. As the danger of obstruction by revenue officers was greater, especially along the east and south coast of England, a larger and better-armed crew "ready for defence" and for landing the tea were necessary—requirements that raised operating costs to as much as £500 per voyage. It was computed that for the Scottish run a ship would have earned at the end of the second voyage not only its first cost but "a neat gain of upwards of £600," whereas in the English trade "it will be the fourth voyage e'er the owners are reimbursed."[43] On the other hand, as the run across the Channel was shorter, the English ship could make more trips during the smuggling season than its Scottish counterpart. Though it

[41] Excise Report, Dec. 4, 1783, *ibid.*, I, 154. An anker was equivalent to approximately eight imperial gallons.

[42] Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fols. 245–45b.

[43] *Ibid.*; cf. Ralph Davis, *Rise of the English Shipping Industry* (London, 1962), 60–61, 138, 362, 379, 389.

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is debatable which had the final advantage, both produced an enticing profit for those prepared to finance the venture.[44]

While excise and customs officials emphasized the size and armed strength of the ships, behind the "new mode" lay new forms of organization. During the 1760's some attempts at organizing the trade on a more regular basis were initiated. In Scotland, particularly along the east coast, the orders of as many as two or three hundred shopkeepers were collected and sent to a factor or merchant at one of the smuggling ports on the Continent. The merchant, having purchased the tea and added to its cost his commission of 2 per cent plus the freight charges, was then responsible for shipping it. The packages of tea, which had "separate invoices, marks and numbers," were then delivered by what was known as the general ship.[45] One such merchant, the Frenchman, René-Yves Foucaud, attempted to increase his business during the 1760's by stationing two of his *commis* in Cornwall and Wales to collect payment and to explain the prices and the quality of his tea.[46]

In 1765 the incorporation of the Isle of Man into the kingdom deprived the traditional smugglers of a safe and strategic entrepôt from which tea could be relanded expeditiously and inexpensively on the west and south coast of Britain. As the change occurred at a time when larger quantities of tea were being imported into the Continent for re-export to the British Isles, some readjustment of the illicit trade became necessary. One of Pitt's correspondents claimed that the loss of the island as a convenient warehouse had forced those Manxmen involved in the smuggling trade to migrate to England. According to him, they taught the English how to organize a direct trade with Europe.[47] Pitt's correspondent may have exaggerated the abilities and influence of the Manxmen (although he was exceedingly well informed on the intricacies of smuggling); still, by the 1770's, the illicit tea trade had achieved a system of organization unexampled in the checkered history of smuggling.

The trade was further revised by the entrance of the large-scale importer and wholesale distributor whom excise described in 1778 as having "acquired a strength and confidence unknown, we believe, in any former time."[48] To be sure, even in 1784 his trade did not replace completely the traditional

[44] In Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 245, the writer reported that some European merchants shared the costs of the ship with the British smugglers in part to assure themselves of the sale of tea.

[45] *Ibid.*, fol. 244b.

[46] Mémoire de Foucaud, fols. 283–84, in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 664, n. 8.

[47] Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 244.

[48] Excise Report, Mar. 24, 1778, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 367.

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mode of direct smuggling, but in certain areas his domination was well entrenched. As the scope of his operations expanded in the direction of monopoly, the systematic organization of the trade enabled him to import and distribute far larger quantities of smuggled tea than were possible under the "old mode." In the public image he was often identified as the engrosser or the speculator.[49]

The engrossers established themselves in at least three major areas from which tea could be distributed with relative ease: on the east and west coasts of Scotland with centers at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and in the south, at London. Each developed within its own trading area a distinct form of organization. In London there were well-established facilities for credit and for the sale and distribution of tea; organization followed the pattern of the legal trade and remained in the hands of wealthy entrepreneurs.[50] While illicit wholesalers might cooperate to evade the increasingly restrictive excise laws, purchases abroad, like those at the East India Company's auctions, were made by individual houses. Richard Twining, a leading London dealer, observed that dealers in the capital who wished to share in the profits of the illegal trade could purchase almost constantly "very large quantities" of tax-free tea. Nor were the persons involved unknown to the business world; they were some of "the most extensive dealers . . . who possessed the fairest reputation [and] who avowed and defended the deed."[51]

In Scotland the trend was toward combination. Examples of the most highly organized kind were the three companies described by excise as having taken over the "far greater part" of the trade on the west coast of Scotland. Composed of extensive dealers, each company had marked out as its base of operation a coastal area from the Water of Orr to the Firth of Clyde: the Clovan Company, consisting of twelve persons, at the Water of Orr; the Mull Company, formed by "four or five very extensive dealers," along the Mull of Galloway; and the Garrick Company, with ten persons, on the coast of Ayrshire. By the early 1780's the three had formed a loose cooperative association; thus, the ships of one might land goods at the preserve of the other in order to evade revenue officers. As warehouses two of the companies had acquired "very large farms . . . enclosed with high walls and gates" within which "artfully designed concealments" were built sometimes under land "planted with corn."[52]

[49] See, e.g., the description in an anonymous Memorial on E.I.C. Auctions, Sept. 30, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fols. 239–41b.

[50] Nathaniel Smith of EIC to Pitt, July 1, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/293, fol. 35.

[51] Twining, *Observations*, 5–7. Twining's observations were confirmed in 2nd Report of the E.I.C. on the Sale and Prices of Tea, 1, PRO 30/8/353, fol. 61.

[52] Excise Report, Dec. 4, 1783, HMCL Scottish Excise and Treasury, I, 152–53.

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Organization on the east coast of Scotland was not so tight, but it was dominated by the "most decent and respectable" dealers who "have entirely thrown out the multitude." In place of the general ship which in the past had sailed from port to port delivering tea and other goods "at mast," associations had been formed under the direction of the principal tea dealers in Edinburgh and, to a lesser extent, in Aberdeen and a few other coastal towns. With shopkeepers in the large inland towns "admitted to shares" in the associations, a close-knit network of trade was maintained between the wholesalers and their correspondents.[53] Such organizations permitted the merchant-wholesalers in the east of Scotland to mobilize sufficient capital and personnel to finance and handle a brisk illicit trade. Pitt's informant noted that, "since 1768 or 1769 when this general association took place amongst the dealers, from their experience and harmony the trade has been carried on in a snug profitable easy way."[54]

Whether the business was conducted by individual wholesalers or by companies, the enlarged scale of the operations required and enabled the engrossers to systematize the purchase and sale of tea. By 1770 some individual purchases on the Continent represented substantial amounts, in volume as great a quantity as would require three or four voyages of a large ship to transport and in value as much as £30,000 worth of tea in one season.[55] To safeguard the investment against loss or seizure, ships and cargoes could be insured "at Lloyd's with liberty of hovering all the winter season at, or under, four per cent premium."[56] But even insurance could be waived by some. If a dealer with good credit purchased large quantities from a European merchant to whom he was well known and whose house he constantly used, the merchant would agree to share any possible loss.[57]

In contrast to the cash payments typical of the "old mode," liberal credit allowances were given by European companies and merchants to their regular British customers. To those who placed orders of £20,000 to £30,000, the seller would allow three months for the tea to be shipped. Once shipped it was paid for by bills at seventy-five or ninety days drawn on London or sometimes on Amsterdam. Thus credit was extended to at least three months and sometimes six, giving the purchaser ample time to sell the tea

[53] *Ibid.*; Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fols. 244b–45.
[54] *Ibid.*, fol. 245.
[55] *Ibid.*, fols. 244–44b.
[56] Memorial on E.I.C. Auctions, July 1, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/293, fols. 35–36; Further Memorial on E.I.C. Auctions, Sept. 30, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/354, fol. 241; cf. Davis, *Rise of the English Shipping Industry*, 379.
[57] Smith to Pitt, July 1, 1784, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 35.

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and to discharge his bills.[58] The charges were estimated at 10 to 20 per cent of the value, and there was no lack of houses to negotiate the bills. One of Pitt's correspondents was prepared to point out many such houses in London, and one in particular that received £200,000 a year "for teas purchased on British account."[59] As large-scale smuggling activities tended to cease during the summer months, credits and shipping accounts were cleared at that time so that bad debts could be distinguished from the good and orders prepared for the coming year. Risks were therefore limited. Some contemporaries assumed that the seasonal character of smuggling was due to the desire of the smugglers to take advantage of the long winter nights for their undercover activities.[60] Perhaps this was so, but the rhythm of the smuggling season fitted that of the China trade. Most ships from China arrived in Europe during July and August with the sales following a month or so later.[61] Thus it would be September before the new tea was ready for shipment to Britain. By the following summer, after a good year of smuggling, the European warehouses would have little tea left to supply the British.

By transporting goods in well-armed vessels, by mobilizing large capital resources, by sharing the risk of loss through insurance, and by taking advantage of the facilities of international finance, the engrossers had devised a "refined plan"[62] that enabled the import of tax-free tea to flourish in a manner deeply alarming to the government and the legal trade. But, given the increasingly stringent laws regulating the sale and movement of tea within the kingdom and their somewhat stricter enforcement by excise officers, the vastly expanded import trade of the smugglers required a correspondingly effective method of distribution and the support of a large body of substantial dealers able and willing to counter the law by their wit. In contrast to the traditional, and still-important channels of direct, local, and personal distribution, the chief characteristic of the new method was the use by large-scale wholesale dealers of the established legal channels of trade to distribute tax-free tea.

[58] Further Memorial on E.I.C. Auctions, Sept. 30, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/354, fol. 241; cf. Charles Wilson, *Anglo-Dutch Commerce and Finance in the 18th Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1941).

[59] Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 244b.

[60] See esp. *ibid.*, fols. 244, 245, 246–46b.

[61] Nearly 70 per cent of the ships from China arrived in Europe during July and August. (See charts of ships' arrivals for 1719–1769 and 1770–1790 in Dermigny, *Chine*, II, 246–48, and discussion of arrivals and sales of tea in Europe in Baring to Pitt, July 4, 1785, PRO 30/8/293, fols. 173–73b; Baring to Court of Directors, Aug. 1788, *ibid.*, 30/8/294, fols. 91–91b.) Professor T. S. Ashton raised with us the question of the seasonal character of large-scale smuggling.

[62] Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/354, fol. 246.

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London had early established itself as the dominating force of the legal trade. There, the East India Company, which enjoyed the legal monopoly to import tea, held its semiannual auctions, and there, merchants and wholesalers with business connections in the country had access to vast networks of distribution. If tax-free tea could be fed into the legal channels in London, circulation to the provinces would be as secure as that of the highly taxed article. But the city was also the center of excise administration; dealers there were far more closely surveyed than those in the country. Hence, smugglers' efforts focused on devising various means by which illicit tea might be moved under legal cover both into and out of the city.

To be sure, tax-free goods could be moved from the coast to places near the metropolis by armed carriers; even in the late 1770's some tea was still brought to London by large gangs of land smugglers carrying firearms but more generally "bludgeons or loaded whips which are very dangerous weapons . . . ," as excise admitted.[63] But without legal cover, something like a standing army would have been necessary to move the tea into the shops of the provincial retailers. The illicit trader with heavy capital commitments found it financially advantageous to devise less violent ways of disposing of the tea and turned to the legal channels of trade. By law an excise permit, stating the quantity, type, origin, and destination of the tea, was required to accompany the movement of more than six pounds of tea into or out of a dealer's shop. The quantity of tea permitted was registered at the local excise office where a record was kept of the amount of tea credited to the account of each dealer. Tea moved without an excise permit or any excess stock found in the dealer's shop was forfeited and subjected those involved to heavy penalties, including penal sanctions. Around this document clustered various abuses.[64]

One such abuse was to establish a surplus credit at the local excise office in order to cover the movement of tax-free tea. To do so required several steps. The London wholesaler with the necessary capital resources could open branch shops in the outskirts of the city or even in coastal towns either in his own name or in that of some "indigent and obscure persons."[65] Such

[63] Excise Report on Smuggling, c. 1777 (internal evidence), *ibid.*, 30/8/283, fol. 190b; St. Brooksbank, Thoughts upon Smuggling, Jan. 14, 1783, in *Documents*, ed. Cross, 291.

[64] The basic law providing for the permit is 10 Geo. I, c. 10. Some of the more common abuses included the falsifying or counterfeiting of permits, the procuring of them under false pretense or by bribing excise officials, and the purchase of permits from other dealers. For more details, see Report of Commissioners of Excise on Smuggling, Feb. 15, 1783, in *Documents*, ed. Cross, 314; Second Report, Committee on Illicit Trade, in London *Morning Chronicle*, Mar. 11, 12, 1784; Tea Dealers' Memorial, Feb. 4, 1779, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 450–51; and Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 245.

[65] Report of Commissioners of Excise on Smuggling, Feb. 15, 1783, in *Documents*, ed. Cross, 314. Some of the methods by which a legal stock might be "created" are described in

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shops offered the Londoner a relatively safe place for receiving clandestinely tax-free tea. Excise permits to move tea out of the London shop were then obtained and sent, unaccompanied by tea, to the branch shop to cover the entry of the illicit goods. With tax-free tea thus "legalized," new permits could be obtained from the local excise office to move goods into London or elsewhere in the country. According to excise, in the twelve weeks ending March 15, 1783, London dealers obtained permits to send a total of 24,442 pounds of tea to shops in Deal, although not "one ounce of tea actually went from London."[66]

In Scotland the transportation of illicit tea to the wholesaler's shop was done with the ease and regularity of a legal business. From the coast tea was dispatched inland to major centers of distribution by land carriers in groups of thirty to fifty men. The shipping and other charges on tea ordered abroad by Edinburgh merchants included delivery to their warehouses; tea for Glasgow was deposited in safe hiding places two miles outside of town. An additional charge of 3*d*. per pound was collected for delivery to the dealer's shop. The quantity delivered to Edinburgh dealers was estimated at 15,800 pounds per week, or over 800,000 pounds a year. For the west coast, one report calculated that in addition to other kinds, "about 10,000 chests of Congou of 80 pounds were imported by the smugglers," with Glasgow alone absorbing no less than "300 pounds of Congou . . . every day not three pounds of which pay duty."[67] Perhaps the more moderate estimate that four-fifths of the total supply was illicit may be closer to the actual situation.[68] But even the Scottish wholesaler found it necessary to enter the legal channels at some point in the chain of distribution. He could obtain excise permits more advantageously by acquiring a legal stock at a customs sale of seized tea. In Edinburgh it was common practice for a combination of dealers, such as the Hell Fire Club, to buy in the seized tea at a price well below its market value. Some legal tea was obtained from London, but Scottish dealers bypassed the London wholesalers and bought directly at the East India Company's auctions, as a

Proceedings of the Association for the Protection of Trade against Smuggling, IO Home Misc., LXI, 126.

[66] First Report, Committee on Illicit Trade, in London *Morning Chronicle*, Jan. 8, 1784.

[67] Account of Aitcheson of Edinburgh, Jan. 8, 1785, and Account of Paton of Glasgow, Jan. 10, 1785, in J. C. [John Campbell?] to Dundas, Scottish Record Office [hereafter cited as SRO], Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1–2. A slightly higher estimate for the east of Scotland was given in Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 245.

[68] Sam. Stalker, Glasgow merchant, to Pitt, Dec. 11, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/293, fols. 120–20b. Various estimates indicate that the total annual consumption in Scotland was about two million pounds. (See Memorial on Smuggling, Mar. 12, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/354, fol. 243b; Excise Office [Edinburgh] to Dundas, May 4, 1790, NLS, Melville Papers, MS. 14, fol. 87b.)

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Glasgow illicit wholesaler boasted of having done to his entire satisfaction.[69] Whatever methods were used, by the time tea reached the retailer's shop the two channels had been so merged that only the scruples of individual dealers distinguished the illicit from the legal, as Twining noted.[70]

By exploiting the legal channels of trade, the wholesaler of illicit tea was eroding at the same time the business of his legal counterpart. He both provided the dealers with legal covering and offered an article that yielded a more favorable return. For Scotland it was calculated that the first cost at Gothenburg for congou ranged between 22*d*. and 26*d*. a pound for which the retail dealers in Glasgow paid 51*d*. to 60*d*. to the wholesaler on the west coast. The cost of freight, insurance, commission to the European factor, and charges on credit was estimated at 12*d*., leaving a gain of about 50 per cent. The retailer in turn charged his customers 72*d*. to 78*d*., or a markup of 20 per cent or more.[71] On the east coast profits were more evenly distributed between the merchant and the retail dealer. The latter paid only 45*d*. for congou, although he sold it at the same prices as the dealer in Glasgow.[72]

Profits aside, the most dangerous threat to the London wholesaler's business was the ease with which the "new mode" of illicit trade was able to establish a virtual monopoly over various regional markets, of which Scotland is the most revealing example. While bohea, the cheapest of the black tea, remained the most popular in England, in Scotland congou had almost completely replaced bohea. Contemporaries attributed the change, at least by implication, to a more discriminating palate among Scottish tea drinkers,[73] but economic as well as gastronomical considerations lay behind the demand for congou. The latter was more profitable both to the importer and to the retailer. In contrast, bohea, which cost approximately 12*d*. abroad, was purchased by the retail dealer for 24*d*., leaving only the profit on freight to the importer. It was sold in the shops for 28*d*., "which afforded the retailer a profit of not more than 4d." An Edinburgh dealer of smuggled tea

[69] Tea Dealers' Memorial, Feb. 16, 1776, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 281–87; Account of Paton of Glasgow, Jan. 10, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1–2; Memorial of Tea Dealers in Edinburgh to Pitt, Aug. 20, 1784, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 82.

[70] Twining, *Observations*, 6–7.

[71] Account of Paton of Glasgow, Jan. 10, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1–2. The prices are confirmed in Tea Prices in Sweden, 1784 (internal evidence), PRO 30/8/294, fol. 172; I. W. Stodhart to Pitt, July 6, 1784, *ibid.*, 30/8/293, fols. 47–47b. The percentages are calculated, conservatively, as differences between a purchase price at the upper limit and a sale price at the lower limit.

[72] Account of Aitcheson of Edinburgh, Jan. 8, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1–2.

[73] See, e.g. IO China: Court Letters, I, letter of Apr. 12, 1787, para. 26; announcements of Alexander Forbes, John Swanston, and Thomas Spence in Edinburgh *Advertiser*, Apr. 5, 12, May 3, Aug. 12, 1791; excise announcement, *ibid.*, Oct. 7, 1791.

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advanced that as the reason why "Bohea is not much encouraged in Scotland."[74]

Scottish free traders were able to control their market not only in the kinds of tea but also in prices. In a letter of February 1779 some London dealers reported to the Treasury the prices of smuggled and legal tea as follows:

Table III

Range of Prices of Smuggled and Legal Tea, February 1779 (in pence)[75]

	Smuggled	Legal
Bohea	24–33	47–51
Congou	40–54	56–96
Souchong	42–66	72–144
Common Green or Singlo	42–66	68–120
Hyson	66–108	126–240

Compared with the Scottish prices of 72*d*. to 78*d*. per pound, all the tax-free congou and that portion of the legal goods priced at the lower limits could have competed effectively in Scotland. It is true that prices in the south rose after 1779, but even as late as 1784 there was still some congou available at 6*s*. per pound on the legal market.[76] Illicit bohea was also cheaper in the south. The fact that Scottish dealers could price their tea so high and almost eliminate bohea seems to point to a very well-protected market.

Indeed, the Scottish dealers went further and invaded the English market. According to excise, for the year ending June 30, 1776, the total quantity of tea sent by permit from England to Scotland amounted to 71,754 pounds whereas that sent by permit from Scotland to England was 180,978 pounds.[77] A specific illustration of such a reversal of the course of trade, as defined by law, was the business of Aitcheson, "one of the most considerable dealers in Edinburgh . . . in smuggled tea" before 1784. He claimed to have sent "large quantities of . . . [the best congou] to London where it was re-

[74] Account of Aitcheson of Edinburgh, Jan. 8, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1–2.

[75] The source for Table III is Tea Dealers' Memorial, Feb. 4, 1779, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 450.

[76] See, e.g., the Price List of Charles Brewster (London), 1781, in Fenton Order Book, 1773–94, BM, Add. MS. 36,666 (no pagination); announcement of John Hodgson in London *Morning Chronicle*, Oct. 6, 1784, which compares current with pre-1784 prices; Davison Newman to Pitt, July 3, 1784, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 41; Retail Prices as Stated by Rutton, Twining and Other Tea Dealers, *ibid.*, 30/8/294, fol. 211.

[77] Excise Report, Mar. 24, 1778, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 360.

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tailed for Souchong."[78] Tea sent from Scotland to London was undoubtedly covered by permits, but the capital was only one target for the enterprising Scottish importer-distributor. Scottish excise reported that a part of the tea imported into the west coast was sent to "England . . . on horseback escorted by troops of 30, 40 or 50 men."[79] On the east coast the resourceful Aitcheson, by manipulating permits, "opened shops for the retail upon my own account in the towns of Newcastle, Durham, Shields and Leeds with great success."[80]

Scotland was only one region that threatened the dominating position of London. With tea being smuggled from the Continent by routes that encircled the kingdom, tax-free imports could be expected to converge on various provincial centers for distribution to their respective market areas. Just as most of the imports along the coasts of Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and Suffolk tended to move first to London,[81] "great quantities of smuggled tea" put ashore on the coasts of Wales, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall found their way to Bristol, and "the very great quantities . . . landed . . . upon the north coast of Yorkshire" reappeared in Kingston-upon-Hull.[82] The existence of regular channels for the distribution of tea is clear from memorials submitted to the Treasury in 1782 by the principal dealers of these towns.[83] In 1784 Bristol actually ranked first in the nation so far as numbers are concerned, with 472 licensed tea dealers compared to 432 for London.[84] When the distributors of tax-free goods could avail themselves of such well-established regional centers of distribution, one may wonder whether even the free trader in London could undersell his provincial competitors.

The impact of such competition on the fair-trade wholesalers, especially those in London, was registered in a decreasing volume of trade and a steady shrinkage of the market area. In the auctions of the East India Company, the quantities sold for British consumption fell dramatically from the high annual average of 7,500,000 pounds in 1768–1770 to 3,600,000 in 1781–1783, ranging between 2,600,000 and 5,600,000 pounds during the 1770's, as Table IV shows:

[78] Account of Aitcheson of Edinburgh, Jan. 8, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1–2.

[79] Excise Report, Dec. 4, 1783, HMCL Scottish Excise and Treasury, I, 155.

[80] Account of Aitcheson of Edinburgh, Jan. 8, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1–2.

[81] Excise Report on Smuggling, c. 1777 (internal evidence), PRO 30/8/283, fol. 102.

[82] Report of Commissioners of Excise on Smuggling, Feb. 15, 1783, in *Documents*, ed. Cross, 312–13; Excise Report, Mar. 24, 1778, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 367; Tea Dealers' Memorial, Feb. 16, 1776, *ibid.*, 282–83.

[83] Memorial of Tea Dealers in Bristol, Jan. 1, 1783, *ibid.*, XXI, 5–7; Memorial of Tea Dealers in Kingston-upon-Hull, *ibid.*, 7–9.

[84] H. C. and L. H. Mui, "The Commutation Act and the British Tea Trade, 1784–93," *Economic History Review*, 2d Ser., XVI (No. 2, 1963), 245.

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Table IV

Quantities of Tea in the Legal Trade, 1740–1794
(in 000 lbs.)[85]

Year	Tea Sold by EIC (1)	Exports (2)	Great Britain (3)	Ireland (4)	United Kingdom (5)
1740	1,653	351	1,302	192	1,494
1741	1,379	378	1,001	191	1,192
1742	691	410	281	193	474
1743	911	430	481	230	711
1744	2,365	895	1,470	253	1,723
1745	2,463	642	1,821	602	2,423
1746	2,524	76	2,448	48	2,496
1747	282	181	101	114	215
1748	3,304	345	2,959	192	3,151
1749	3,477	322	3,155	180	3,335
1750	2,375	371	2,004	292	2,296
1751	3,681	394	3,287	369	3,656
1752	2,457	324	2,133	140	2,273
1753	3,451	364	3,087	166	3,253
1754	3,196	347	2,849	200	3,049
1755	3,570	302	3,268	169	3,437
1756	3,899	192	3,707	106	3,813
1757	3,860	267	3,593	130	3,723
1758	3,685	309	3,376	145	3,521
1759	3,548	394	3,154	92	3,246
1760	4,020	427	3,593	268	3,861
1761	4,354	245	4,109	199	4,308
1762	4,401	414	3,987	231	4,218
1763	5,436	395	5,041	266	5,307
1764	5,685	705	4,980	243	5,223
1765	5,473	809	4,664	540	5,204
1766	5,586	583	5,003	183	5,186
1767	5,303	655	4,648	273	4,921
1768	8,526	1,849	6,677	999	7,676
1769	9,448	1,469	7,979	1,136	9,115
1770	8,574	851	7,723	911	8,634
1771	6,799	1,226	5,573	734	6,307
1772	7,032	1,149	5,883	839	6,722
1773	4,577	2,006	2,571	1,205	3,776
1774	6,832	1,280	5,552	1,177	6,729
1775	6,225	750	5,475	681	6,156
1776	4,578	814	3,764	704	4,468
1777	5,583	1,277	4,306	814	5,120
1778	4,771	1,361	3,410	770	4,180
1779	6,733	1,276	5,457	885	6,342

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Table IV (*continued*)

Year	Tea Sold by EIC (1)	Exports (2)	Great Britain (3)	Ireland (4)	United Kingdom (5)
1780	7,559	1,969	5,590	1,738	7,328
1781	5,023	1,444	3,579	1,305	4,884
1782	6,284	2,116	4,168	2,034	6,202
1783	5,858	2,766	3,092	1,650	4,742
1784	10,148	1,537	8,611	1,549	10,160
1785	15,082	1,914	13,168	1,633	14,801
1786	15,931	1,946	13,985	1,867	15,852
1787	16,222	2,176	14,046	1,680	15,726
1788	15,015	1,796	13,219	1,546	14,765
1789	16,710	2,175	14,535	1,971	16,506
1790	16,695	2,001	14,694	1,736	16,430
1791	17,268	2,171	15,097	1,995	17,092
1792	18,135	2,313	15,822	1,845	17,667
1793	17,378	2,034	15,344	2,149	17,493
1794	19,127	2,502	16,625	2,040	18,665

In the early 1770's Garratt was "travelling the kingdom for the purpose of selling tea," but found it "almost impossible to do any business within 30 miles of the sea coast."[86] Trade did not improve with time, as an excise report on Barnstaple, Devonshire, shows: in 1773 there were 177 licensed dealers in the collection, but five years later the number was reduced to 70, and "even these are going to close as they sell only two or three pounds in several months."[87] By 1783 surveys of such towns as Blackheath, Rochester, Sittingbourne, Canterbury, Dover, Romney, Rye, Battle, Lewis, and Uckfield, among others, disclosed that all the tea locally consumed was smuggled.[88]

[85] The sources for the table are: figures for (1) are from "Tea sold by EIC"; those for (2) cover all tea shipped out of Great Britain including quantities for Ireland and are taken from Schumpeter, *English Overseas Trade Statistics*, 60; figures for (5) include all tea retained for use in both Britain and Ireland and are taken from "Tea retained for Home Consumption"; figures for Ireland (4) for 1789–1794 are taken from J. R. McCulloch, *Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation* (London, 1832), 1028. Calculations were made as follows: figures for (3), tea retained in Great Britain, are derived by subtracting the export figure (2) from the sale figure (1); figures for Ireland (4) for the years 1740–1788 are derived by subtracting the figure for Great Britain (3) from that of the United Kingdom (5). The method used has been checked from figures for the period 1789–1808. For these years all figures for columns (1), (2), (4), and (5) are taken from sources given above.

[86] Garratt to Dundas, July 22, 1800, NLS, Melville Papers, MS. 1063, fols. 173–73b.

[87] Excise Report, Mar. 24, 1778, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 360.

[88] Observations with respect to the Consumption of Tea at the Places Named, c. 1784 (internal evidence), PRO 30/8/294, fols. 250–50b.

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Nor was the company immune to the injurious effects of the expansion of the illicit trade. It is true that its total sale (including exports) showed a smaller drop: from 8,800,000 in 1768–1770 to 5,700,000 pounds in 1781–1783 with an annual range between 4,600,000 and 7,000,000 pounds during the 1770's.[89] But prices at the company's auctions exhibited a more somber picture. In contrast to the period 1745–1765 when the bid-up price for bohea was rarely under 12*d.* above the put-up price, London dealers, hard pressed by the illicit competition, were forced to reduce the company's margin of profit. Indeed, after 1770 when the put-up price was raised to 27*d.* per pound, the markup was often merely one penny.[90] During these years the company was barely covering its costs on bohea, especially as war inflated the already heavy freight charges.

The principal dealers of London who eschewed business in tax-free tea were embattled and encircled. In order to compete, the London wholesaler had to reduce his markup to an almost ruinous level, as the following table shows.

Table V

Percentage Difference between Cost to Buyers at EIC Auctions and Prices Charged by Retailers[91]

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Bohea	51.75	(−) 5.6	6.0	23.8	15.9
Singlo	80.50	16.7	11.1	3.1	(−) 10.5
Congou	82.25	(−) 7.3	9.7	3.8	2.1
Souchong	96.38	12.0	25.0	5.2	00.0
Hyson	142.63	27.9	5.4	1.2	0.9

But even such a low markup did not necessarily assure success. An example of this was the business of Charles Brewster. Between 1776 and 1785 this London wholesaler found his orders from Wathal Fenton, a general shop-

[89] The figures were calculated from Table IV, pages 67–68.

[90] E.I.C. Put-up Prices, 1742–84, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 23; "Tea sold by EIC."

[91] The meanings and sources of the five columns are as follows: (1) is the cost of tea to buyers at EIC sales (in pence), calculated as ten-year averages (1774–1783) of EIC sale prices plus all duties less customary discount, from *Report of Proceedings Respecting the Sale and Prices of Tea held since the Recent Act, ordered to be published, 19 Nov. 1784, by E.I.C. Court of Directors,* 57; (2) is calculated from prices in Tea Dealers' Memorial, Feb. 4, 1779, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 450; (3) is calculated from Wholesale and Retail Prices of Tea for the Last 10 Years before 1784 with Comments from Mr. Twining and Mr. Rutton, PRO 30/8/294, fol. 254; (4) is from Calculation of Retailer's Profits at Old Duties, c. 1784 (internal evidence), *ibid.,* fol. 170; (5) is from Prices of Fair Trade Tea in Davison, Newman and Co. to Pitt, July 3, 1784, *ibid.,* 30/8/293, fol. 41.

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keeper in Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire, reduced from an annual total of two to four hundred pounds to a few pounds a year. Not until after the Commutation Act did Fenton turn once again to his London supplier for tea.[92] Twining did not exaggerate when he observed that the failure to compete with smuggled tea forced more and more shopkeepers to deal with the free trader secretly, while condemning him publicly.[93] In London both free and fair traders suffered from the impact of the well-organized provincial smugglers.

Such were the conditions that led some London dealers to form an association for the protection of their trade. At the same time the company was itself faced not only with diminishing returns but with possible loss on two major teas, singlo and bohea. In the end the dealers, many of them men of wealth and political influence, cooperated with the officials and directors of the company and a vigorous minister in suppressing the clandestine trade, but the preparations and the agitation had been initiated long before 1784.

Among the company's servants, William Richardson was, if not the earliest, the most persistent and successful organizer of the forces against smuggling. Some time after 1768 he began to collect information about the illicit trade and several years later succeeded in organizing the fair-trade dealers in provincial towns as well as in enlisting the support of some of the company's directors and some leaders of government. By 1779 he was meeting "once each week" with members of the Association of London Tea Dealers to plan "ways and means to accomplish our wishes."[94] Among tea dealers, Garratt was active from the early 1770's onward and by 1776 had collected sufficient information to publish a pamphlet explaining the threat of the illicit trade. That year Garratt and Company was one of ninety-six firms of London dealers who submitted six specific measures to the Treasury for the more effective suppression of smuggling.[95] The time was not propitious, as Garratt noted: Lord North, with whom he had consulted and whose support had been obtained previously, was by then too involved in the American dispute.[96] But the association under the leadership of such important men of the city as Abraham Newman, Twining, Ellis, and

[92] Fenton Order Book, 1773–94, BM, Add. MS. 36,666; for a summary of Fenton's trade, see Mui, "Commutation Act," 246.

[93] Twining, *Observations,* 21–24.

[94] The Service of William Richardson, IO Home Misc., LXI, 152; see also E. H. Pritchard, *The Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations, 1750–1800* (Pullman, Wash., 1936), 146–49.

[95] Tea Dealers' Memorial, Feb. 16, 1776, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XIX, 287.

[96] Garratt to Dundas, July 22, 1800, NLS, Melville Papers, MS. 1063, fols. 173–73b.

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Garratt[97] continued to press the government, contributing to, if not instigating, the enactment of the new excise restrictions of 1779–1782.

The act of 1781 (21 Geo. III, c. 55), the most comprehensive of the group, was specifically designed to protect the London fair trade. By this act no tea above six pounds could be moved into the (London) bills of mortality, and no tea above forty pounds could be moved between places outside of that limit. From London, however, any amount could be sent. In 1782 the quantity permitted to be moved by provincial dealers was reduced to twenty pounds. Against this law, the principal dealers of Bristol and Hull complained bitterly as it "will of necessity transfer the customer of every trader in Bristol [and Hull] who will not be limited to 20 pounds to London." But excise upheld it because the law "was enacted on the application of the most respectable tea dealers in London whose trade was injured" by smuggling.[98] While the law was not completely effective, a fact that excise readily admitted, it added to the cost of those free traders who wished to use the legal channels.[99] One Edinburgh dealer claimed his business in England had been ruined by the twenty-pound limit.[100] The fraudulent dealer in London was in a similarly difficult position in obtaining a supply of tax-free tea. He revived the long-existing but expensive practice of dividing the tea into packages of under six pounds. By the end of 1781 "six capital fraudulent tea dealers" had established branch shops at South Lambeth, Stockwell, Kennington Common, and Norwood so that in one month ending January 10, 1782, they sent into London 16,558 pounds of tea in six-pound packages, and in the same period thirty other, apparently smaller, dealers sent in a total of 7,268 pounds by the same method.[101] Such packaging was time consuming and costly; the resort to it is testimony less to the ingenuity of the free traders than to the embattled position of the Londoner.

At the same time the fair-trade dealers of London carried their fight into the salesroom of the company. On November 13, 1781, the company's directors received a letter from "a capital purchaser of tea and proprietor of E.I. stock" who warned of "a combination among the tea dealers to lower

[97] Proceedings of the Association for the Protection of Trade against Smuggling, IO Home Misc., LXI, 124.

[98] Memorial of Tea Dealers in Bristol, Jan. 1, 1783, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XXI, 5–7; Memorial of Tea Dealers in Kingston-upon-Hull, *ibid.*, 7–9; Excise Report on the Memorials of Dealers of Bristol and Kingston-upon-Hull, Feb. 28, 1783; *ibid.*, 72–73.

[99] Excise Report, Oct. 4, 1781, *ibid.*, XX, 220–21; Excise Report on the Memorials of Dealers in Bristol and Kingston-upon-Hull, Feb. 28, 1783, *ibid.*, XXI, 72–73.

[100] Account of Aitcheson of Edinburgh, Jan. 8, 1785, SRO, Melville Castle Muniments, GD51/3/194, fols. 1–2.

[101] Excise Report, Feb. 19, 1782, HMCL Excise and Treasury, XX, 278–79.

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the price of that article."[102] The dealers' action was at least partly successful; the average bid-up prices of three kinds of tea were lower in 1782–1783 than they had been in 1779–1781, as Table VI shows:

Table VI
Put-up and Bid-up Prices, 1779–1783[103]

	Put-up Prices (in pence), 1779–83	Bid-up Prices (in pence),	
		1779–81	1782–83
Bohea	25.24	30.10	32.25
Congou	25.24	55.87	49.80
Souchong	44.88	65.07	67.15
Singlo	28.05	56.10	50.15
Hyson	56.01	104.27	89.80

The plight of the legal trade was clearly explained by Newman. For the years 1778, 1783, and 1784, Newman gave the company his opinion of the state of the legal market. The earliest statement advised the company to offer for sale only moderate quantities, particularly in singlo, as the dealers "had been long overstocked" with it and "by continual losses . . . are quite dispirited." He recalled that during the last sale, as a result of the fall in the bid-up prices of bohea and singlo, the company had sustained a loss of "about £6,000." By 1784 he estimated that if the company put up a large quantity of bohea for sale, it would be "attended with a certain present loss of £25 or £30,000 and a future one of full as much as the trade loses."[104] With both bohea and singlo netting a loss of such magnitude, the company's tea trade was in a desperate situation.

The stage was thus set. Within the company, Richardson had pressed the question of smuggling on the directors and, through them, on several leaders of government. Only a determined government was needed to forge an

[102] IO Court Minutes, XC, 441. Contemporary gossip frequently referred to the presence of dealers in illicit tea among the proprietors of the company's stock. (See, e.g., London *Morning Chronicle,* Oct. 11, 1784; London *Morning Herald,* Nov. 29, 1784; Memorial on E.I.C. Auctions, Sept. 30, 1784, PRO 30/8/354, fol. 240.)

[103] The sources for the table are E.I.C. Put-up Prices, 1742–84, PRO 30/8/293, fol. 23, and "Tea sold by EIC." From the put-up prices has been deducted the company's customary discount of 6½ per cent as similar deduction had already been taken from the bid-up prices; cf. average prices of EIC teas sold in *Advice to the Unwary,* 4–5.

[104] Guildhall (London) MS. 8611, Davison, Newman Company Papers, London Tea Market, 1783–1817 (no pagination).

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alliance with the leading forces within the legal trade, an alliance that was to deal the final blow to the eighteenth-century free trade in tea. Although Garratt's interview with Charles James Fox produced no immediate result, his discussion with Pitt contributed at least something to the "perfect revolution in the tea trade of Europe," as Garratt described the Commutation Act of 1784.[105]

From 1784 onward, smuggled tea became an article of disrepute among British dealers and consumers, and information concerning the activities and organization of the free trader was allowed to lie buried in dusty documents, leaving only colorful tales culled from personal memoirs and sensational reports to be rehashed over and over again.[106] But before 1784 the smuggler was no small interloper. He was indeed an important complement to his legal counterpart and as such contributed to the commercial expansion of the kingdom. By operating along the coast of the country, the smuggler became a virtual pioneer in developing trade facilities in areas not easily reached from the established centers of distribution. By perfecting organization in transport and in credit, he introduced from Europe large quantities of tea to many dealers at a lower price than the highly taxed article. In their turn, by choosing to circumvent, rather than to defy, the law, the dealers safeguarded a certain portion of legal business and supplied an inexpensive beverage to the consuming public. But the very success of the trade and its rapid expansion eventually threatened the powerful interests of the London wholesalers, the East India Company, and the government and forced the three into vigorous action. Until the effective enforcement of the Commutation Act, however, what appeared from the viewpoint of the law to be frauds, abuses, and evasions might also be regarded as innovations promoting the international and domestic trade of the kingdom, which, in turn, contributed to the growth of the British economy in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

[105] Garratt to Dundas, July 22, 1800, NLS, Melville Papers, MS. 1063, fol. 173b. For a discussion of the Commutation Act, see H. C. and L. H. Mui, "William Pitt and the Enforcement of the Commutation Act, 1784–88," *English Historical Review,* LXXVI (July 1961), 447–65.

[106] Cf. G. D. Ramsay, "The Smuggler's Trade: A Neglected Aspect of English Commercial Development," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 5th Ser., II (1952).

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The Perils of Pluralism: The Background of the Pierce Case

David B. Tyack

THE King Kleagle, Pacific Domain, of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan warmed to his theme. We are facing now, he said in 1922, "the ultimate perpetuation or destruction of free institutions, based upon the perpetuation or destruction of the public schools." To defend the common school "is the settled policy of the Ku Klux Klan and with its white-robed sentinels keeping eternal watch, it shall for all time, with its blazing torches as signal fires, stand guard on the outer walls of the Temple of Liberty, cry out the warning when danger appears and take its place in the front rank of defenders of the public schools."[1] The Kleagle and his hooded colleagues had just helped persuade the citizens of Oregon to pass an initiative requiring all children between eight and sixteen to attend public schools and essentially outlawing private elementary schools. Now they were awaiting a court test of the law by their opponents. Their short-lived triumph and the monumental decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1925 (*Sisters* v. *Pierce*) ruling the law unconstitutional together form an illuminating case study of the purposes and limits of compulsory public education.

Grotesque though it may be to see the KKK as defenders of the common school, the Oregon adventure in education merely exaggerated certain patterns prevalent in our social and educational history of the last century. Nativism, 100 per cent Americanism, anti-Catholicism, distrust of the rich and well-born, political and moral fundamentalism—these were hardly new. But in the 1920's, fundamentalists of all stripes felt a peculiar sense of urgency, of anxiety, of displacement. (The names of the days in the Ku Klux Kalendar suggest the mood: "Desperate, Dreadful, Desolate, Doleful, Dismal, Deadly, Dark."[2])

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[1] Luther Powell, in preface to George Estes, *The Old Cedar School* (Troutdale, Ore., 1922), 9.

[2] *Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* (Atlanta, 1921), 87; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New York, 1966), 61–62, Chap. x.

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During World War I and its aftermath, public education became a focus of concern for the fundamentalists and a target for inquisitors and opportunists. For the duration of the war, schoolmen sought desperately to eradicate ideological and ethnic pluralism in the interests of 100 per cent Americanism. After the armistice and an upsurge of isolationism, uneasy patriots tried to use the schools to fight the enemies within. Were Darwinism and the higher criticism undermining traditional patterns of faith? Then forbid the teaching of evolution and require the reading of the Bible. Was the United States a nation of hyphenates? Then outlaw the teaching of foreign languages in elementary schools, especially that language of hell, German. Were Bolsheviks plotting to corrupt the minds of the young? Then weed out all teachers who could not prove their orthodoxy. Was a cynical spirit abroad in the land, fed by H. L. Mencken, Sinclair Lewis, and a host of muckraking historians and biographers? Then pass laws requiring textbook writers and teachers to be reverential toward folk heroes. The answer was clear: if society seemed centrifugal, schools must be forced to move in narrow circles of orthodoxy. Critics might ridicule the "booboisie," the tight-lipped conservatives who called for laws against petting and flirting, who enacted prohibition, who baited Reds, who demanded the pious rewriting of history, who disclaimed monkey ancestors, but the majority could and did enact its alarm into school laws. And the consequences of the crusade for conformity were no joke, however comical the actors.[3]

Not all children went to public schools where they could be shaped to fundamentalist specifications. Nativists wondered what went on in Catholic parochial schools, in German Lutheran classrooms, in elite academies. Here was a flaw, here the origin of the Oregon compulsory public-school bill. In the process of debate on the bill and subsequent legal action came a searching reappraisal of the ideology of the common school in a pluralistic society.

Oregon seems, at first glance, an unlikely state in which to open a campaign for public monopoly of education. In 1920 the state had only 13 per cent foreign-born inhabitants (one-half of them naturalized), only 0.3 per cent Negroes, only about 8 per cent Catholics. Almost 95 per cent of all

[3] Walter Lippmann, *American Inquisitors: A Commentary on Dayton and Chicago* (New York, 1928); Bessie L. Pierce, *Public Opinion in the Teaching of History in the United States* (New York, 1926), Chaps. IV–VII; Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* (New York, 1936), Chaps. IX–XI; Willard Gatewood, *Preachers, Pedagogues & Politicians: The Evolution Controversy in North Carolina, 1920–1927* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1966); Lewis Paul Todd, *Wartime Relations of the Federal Government and the Public Schools, 1917–1918* (New York, 1945).

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children between seven and thirteen were in school; over 93 per cent of these students attended public schools. Only 1.5 per cent of people ten years and older were illiterate. The major city, Portland, had few slums and few of the social problems of the crowded, polyglot eastern centers; outsiders congratulated Portland for its "Teutonic," orderly, Americanized schoolchildren.[4] In Oregon private and public schools had peaceably coexisted since the first settlements; indeed, a sharp line between "public" and "private" education had not existed at all in the early years of the state.[5] It was fanciful to assert that Oregon exemplified the perils of pluralism or that the private schools, steadily declining in the proportion of students they served, constituted a threat to public education. Perhaps it was because Oregon did approximate the nativist ideal that partisans like the Klansmen chose it as a test case for compulsory public education, for there the majority of citizens might be persuaded to support a state monopoly. A similar plan had failed in Michigan, but if the Oregon campaign were to prove successful, a dozen other states were next in line.[6]

The beginnings of the 1922 law for compulsory public education lie shrouded. The initiative measure required parents to send their children between the ages of eight and sixteen to public schools unless they were physically unable, lived too far from a school, had completed the eighth grade, or were allowed by the county superintendent to have private tutoring. For each day that a parent failed to comply with the law he would "be subject to a fine of not less than $5, nor more than $100, or to imprisonment in the county jail not less than two nor more than thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court."[7] The initiative came before the voters in the general election of November 7, 1922.

[4] Ellwood Cubberley *et al., Report of the Survey of the Public School System of School District No. 1, Multnomah County, Oregon* (Portland, 1913), 71–74 *et passim*. Cubberley pointed out that only six other northern and western cities had a larger percentage of native-born than did Portland.

[5] David Tyack, "The Kingdom of God and the Common School: Protestant Ministers and the Educational Awakening in the West," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXXVI (Fall 1966), 459–67.

[6] The Lutheran Schools Committee kept a file of such attempts and a full set of newspaper clippings, correspondence, and publicity on the Oregon school battle; this file [hereafter cited as LSC] is deposited in the Oregon Historical Society and is the basic source of information available on the compulsory school bill. For sample discussions of using the Oregon bill as a precedent for similar laws elsewhere, see the following (all newspapers cited in the essay are in Oregon unless otherwise indicated): Dayton, Wash., *Dispatch*, Dec. 30, 1922; Portland *Journal*, June 10, 16, 1922; Marshfield *Times*, Oct. 28, 1922. In a letter to Rudolf Messerli, coordinator of the Lutheran Schools Committee, Arthur Brohm wrote on September 15, 1922, from San Francisco saying that petitions for a similar initiative (to force all children to attend public schools) had failed to win sufficient signatures in California. (LSC.) The Masonic view of the Oregon case as a precedent is stated in *New Age*, XXVIII (July 1920), 322.

[7] *Proposed Constitutional Amendments and Measures (with Arguments) to Be Submitted to the Voters at the General Election, Tuesday, November 7, 1922* (Salem, Ore., 1922), 22.

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The men who put the measure on the ballot claimed as inspiration a resolution of the Scottish Rite Masons, Southern Jurisdiction of the United States, May 1920:

> *Resolved,* That we recognize and proclaim our belief in the free and compulsory education of the children of our nation in public primary schools supported by public taxation, upon which all children shall attend and be instructed in the English language only without regard to race or creed as the only sure foundation for the perpetuation and preservation of our free institutions . . . and we pledge . . . to oppose the efforts of any and all who seek to limit, curtail, hinder or destroy the public school system of our land.[8]

The Scottish Rite Masons were mounting a national campaign against an alleged effort of Catholics to sap the strength of the common school and against the specter of "Bolshevist" instruction in private schools. They claimed the antidote would be to teach children in public schools "along standardized lines, which will enable them to acquire a uniform outlook on all national and patriotic questions."[9] But in Oregon the Masons split on the issue of outlawing private schools, and there is much evidence that the KKK was using the Scottish Rite as a front. A number of leading Masons, including two Masonic past Grand Masters, denied that their body was sponsoring the bill. One of the Masters gave this account:

> The compulsory school bill has been foisted upon the voters by the Ku Klux Klan. . . . Indorsement of the school bill by the Scottish Rite Masons was accomplished at a special meeting of hand-picked members of that order in Portland last spring called by P. S. Malcolm and Fred L. Gifford, and attended only by delegates present at their invitation. Malcolm . . . has been closely identified with the klan movement in Portland since its inception, if he is not actually a member, and Gifford is Exalted Cyclops of the Luther Powell klan of Portland. The majority of those present when the compulsory bill was endorsed were members of that radical faction of the Masonic order that fell in with the Ku Klux Klan movement from the first.[10]

Organizers of the Klan often tried to infiltrate Masonic lodges in the 1920's, causing Grand Masters in a number of states explicitly to attack the KKK and to dissociate the Masonic orders from it.[11]

Because of the secret membership and "invisible government" characteristic of the Klan, probably no one will ever know how fully it controlled

[8] *Ibid.*, 22–24.

[9] *New Age,* XXX (Oct. 1922), 549. Lloyd Jorgenson discusses the national background and consequences of the Oregon law in his essay "The Oregon School Law of 1922: Passage and Sequel," forthcoming in *Catholic Historical Review.*

[10] Eugene *Guard,* Nov. 4, 1922; Baker City *Democrat,* Nov. 3, 1922; Portland *Telegram,* Nov. 2, 1922; W. C. Bristol, "The Position of Masonry Made Clear," LSC.

[11] *The Klan Unmasked* (n.p., n.d.), 8–10; *Ku Klux Klan: Secrets Exposed* (Chicago, 1922), 55–58; *Oregon Voter,* Oct. 7, 1922, 9–10; Higham, *Strangers in the Land,* 289.

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the Oregon Scottish Rite Masons or other groups allied in support of the school bill, such as the Federated Patriotic Societies. But Mason William McDougal, speaking in favor of the bill, suggested that his sympathies at least went to the Klan, though he was not a member: "I will say this much, that the Klan is composed of Americanborn, and if it comes to a show down I would rather be aligned with 100 per cent American influences than with foreign influences."[12] (McDougal was a first-generation immigrant himself.) The Salem *Journal,* one of the few newspapers to attack the KKK openly, said in an editorial called "Masonry the Goat" that the state monopoly of education "was introduced into the campaign for the purpose of stimulating membership in the Ku Klux Klan in its appeal to religious prejudice and racial hatred."[13] That may in fact have been the intent of the Klan leadership; in any case the school bill became the most heated and bitter issue in the election. The bill has "set the brush on fire and . . . rent asunder communities," said the La Grange *Observer.*[14] The fact that the initiative passed with a substantial majority indicates that the KKK's appeals tapped deep public concern.

The Klan in Oregon had many faces and more masks. Many of the leaders and salesmen saw chances to make fortunes from anxiety and hatred. The KKK became a semiopen political party that ran its own candidates (candidates they endorsed won the governorship, the mayoralty of Portland, and a potential deciding vote in the legislature, as well as many of the spoils of office). In some local communities it became an underground and hooded police troop enforcing prohibition, marital fidelity, and fundamentalist morality; it also harassed minorities who insisted on their rights.[15] But most of the Klan members were not the rural, violent night riders of the popular stereotype. Over half of the Oregon Klansmen lived in Portland; most of them were probably blue-collar fundamentalists, arrested in their careers at a menial level amid the contemporary ideology of success, troubled by assaults on the familiar certainties, looking for dignity and significance. Kenneth Jackson has characterized the appeal of the Klan to this urban group:

> Fear of change, not vindictiveness or cruelty, was the basic motivation of the urban Klansman. He was disillusioned by the Great War and its aftermath, by

[12] Marshfield *Times,* Oct. 28, 1922.
[13] Salem *Journal,* Oct. 26, 1922.
[14] La Grange *Observer,* Oct. 28, 1922.
[15] David Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865–1965* (Garden City, N. Y., 1965), Chap. XII; Eckard V. Toy, Jr., "The Ku Klux Klan in Tillamook, Oregon," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* LIII (Apr. 1962), 60–64; John M. Mecklin, *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind* (New York, 1963 [1st ed., 1924]), 43–51; E. Haldemann-Julius, *KKK: The Kreed of the Klansmen* (Girard, Kan., 1924), 15–24.

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the Senate rejection of the League of Nations, and by the economic recession which came in the summer and fall of 1920. He was aware of the Red Scare and of reports of "petting parties," "wild dancing," and other indications of a revolution in morals. Sensing that the traditional values, religion, and way of life of an older America were in danger, he donated ten dollars to a hypocritical secret society in a vague attempt to halt the forces of time.[16]

In elaborate rituals and offices Klansmen found an excitement and a bogus brotherhood often missing in their drab lives. The Klan's absolute versions of Kristianity and patriotism soothed troubled minds, while its assurances of the superiority of the native-born, white Protestant gave them status denied elsewhere.[17]

The Klan adapted the ideology of that traditional American institution, the common school, to its own purposes. Along with pure womanhood, white supremacy, the Constitution, uncorrupted religion, freedom of speech, and the common people, Klansmen were sworn to uphold public education: "I believe that our Free Public School is the cornerstone of good government," they recited, "and that those who are seeking to destroy it are enemies of our Republic and are unworthy of citizenship."[18] Only bluebloods or men who placed church above state could oppose compulsory public schooling; in either case they were traitors to American institutions.[19]

In a proclamation to Oregon Klansmen, Fred Gifford, Grand Dragon and a chief sponsor of the school bill, embroidered on this theme:

> The Klan favors. . .
>
> A compulsory use of English as the language in the grammar grades. . . .
>
> Education of the alien population, by federal aid, not only in cultural and vocational subjects, but especially in the principles of American institutions.
>
> The entire separation of church and state. . . .
>
> The American public school, non-partisan, non-sectarian, efficient, democratic, for all the children of all the people; equal educational opportunities for all.
>
> The inculcation of patriotism, love of the flag, respect for law and order and undying loyalty to constitutional government.

Gifford went on to paint a dark vision of the human scum pouring into the nation: "somehow these mongrel hordes must be Americanized; failing that, deportation is the only remedy."[20]

Lem Dever, a leading Klan publicist until his break with the organization

[16] Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915–1930* (New York, 1967), 242.

[17] Lem Dever, *Confessions of an Imperial Klansman* (Portland, 1924); Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan,* 205.

[18] Haldemann-Julius, *KKK,* 30.

[19] Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan,* 205.

[20] Lem Dever, *Inside the Klan: Invisible Empire Revealed* (Portland, 1923), 29–30; a letter writer in the Portland *Oregonian* (Oct. 31, 1922) said that "waiting for Oregon to develop a real immigrant problem was like the traveller who warmed a poisonous snake in his bosom until it had sufficient vitality to sting him."

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in 1924, unwittingly expressed a basic contradiction in the KKK's position on public education. He wrote that the chief purpose of the Klan was to "keep our country from becoming a vast Mongrelia." Dever thought that the "selective draft disclosures during the world war" had proved the inferiority of the Southeastern European ethnic groups; loose immigration laws were "unwise and suicidal." "Vast masses of our population, in the congested centers, have no more pedigree than the street dogs and cats; they are the product of innumerable crossings with the mongrel hordes."[21] The Klan believed in inherent WASP superiority and the inferiority of aliens, Negroes, Catholics, and Jews, yet somehow it had persuaded itself that to force all children to attend public schools would avert the ruin of the republic. Conflicting assumptions about heredity and environment sat side by side in mute antagonism. And even more incongruous was the argument that the public school should mix children of all the people—all ethnic groups, all economic classes—in order to produce social solidarity; at its most eloquent, the Klan rhetoric sounds like the plea of those integrationist liberals today who would make the public school a true "common school" by achieving a racial, ethnic, and economic cross section in each classroom.[22] Nowhere in the proposals of the Klan for compulsory public education in Oregon was there even a hint that Negroes should have separate schools; rather, Klansmen simply ignored the anomaly.

In theory at least, abolishing religious pluralism was more plausible than eradicating ethnic inferiority. Dever thought that the Klan should not only "Americanize the mongrel hordes" but also Protestantize the Catholics by convincing them that they should require "their priests to marry and live normal lives." They should also "abolish the parochial grade school and join with other Americans in building up the Public School."[23]

The Old Cedar School, the Oregon Klan's propaganda piece in favor of compulsory public education, mixed nostalgia, paranoia, anticlericalism, Populist egalitarianism, anti-intellectualism, and bitter fantasy. In his introduction to the pamphlet the King Kleagle began on a familiar Populist note, saying that the compulsory school fight was "a battle of the mass of humanity against sects, classes, combinations and rings; against entrenched privilege and secret machinations of the favored few to control the less favored many." (The KKK, which prided itself on its secrecy, was always quick to attack the covert conspiracies of its enemies.) He denied that the

[21] Dever, *Inside the Klan,* 23, 25.
[22] Estes, *Old Cedar School,* 22–24, 32–39.
[23] Dever, *Inside the Klan,* 10.

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Klan was arousing religious hatred. That issue was injected, he said, by the opposition, which "included the Roman Catholic Church and many other religious sects, prominent public officials, powerful financial institutions and banking houses, most of the great newspapers and a considerable number of the ablest attorneys of the state." At stake was the fate of the public school, which was "being ground to atoms" by quarreling sects.[24] The republic itself ultimately faced extinction.

The author of the pamphlet, George Estes, cast the narrative in the form of a conversation between an old Oregon pioneer and his alienated and perverse children who chose to send their sons and daughters to parochial schools. In the dialect of the common man the father tells of building the school on a ridge east of Portland "so us children could learn to read an' write an' cypher a little so't we couldn't git beat out o' everything when we growed up an' maybe when it come time to votin' we'd know enuff to vote agin fool laws an' graftin' men." But his son Jim has become a snob who admires "the Hon. Ab. Squealright" and wants to send his children to an Episcopal school, "Oxford Towers where there's a hull lot of big bishops and fellers who wear their collars an' vests buttoned in the back an' . . . [don't] know pizen oak from ivy on the walls of an old English castle." Sally and Ryar married a Seventh-Day Adventist and a Methodist, and they, too, did not think the old cedar school good enough for them. But John was the real black sheep, for he married a Catholic and was going to send his children to the Academy of St. Gregory's Holy Toe Nail, where they would "master Histomorphology, the Petrine Supremacy, Transubstantiation and . . . thoroughly trace the original authority and ecclesiastical record of Peter's Pence, together with the beatification of Saint Caviar."[25]

Estes' pioneer translated his family's apostasy into public apocalypse at the end. At the public meeting on the school bill, he said, after the opponents of the bill had spoken, a band of hooded men marched to the platform to hang up a picture of the old schoolhouse, with its American flag flying and the old teacher pulling the bell rope, a terrified expression on his face.

> At the three corners of the old school house . . . stood a 'Piscopalyun bishop, an' a Seventh Day Adventist Minister, an' a Methodist Presiding Elder . . . a knockin' out the foundations from under our Cedar School House; an' there was a Roman Catholic Bishop runnin' out from the fir grove toward the school house, a wearin' a long black robe an' a manicurist's lace skirt. He was holdin' up the crucifix high above his head in one hand an' carryin' a flamin' torch in the other.

[24] Powell in Estes, *Old Cedar School*, 5–7, 9.

[25] *Ibid.*, 12, 16, 26. Estes was also the author of a bitterly anti-Catholic tract called *The Roman Katholic Kingdom and the Ku Klux Klan* (Troutdale, Ore., 1923).

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Then the lights went out, and a new picture appeared:

> our Old Cedar School House, next in my heart to Mother's grave, was tumblin' to the ground, in flames, the crushed an' shriveled form of old Silas Parker, its teacher for mor'n fifty years, lay dead with his snow-white head hangin' out of the open front door, his thin, bony old hand aholdin' tight to the bell rope, the swayin' bell pealin' its final call, and the burnin' flag on the tall spire, THE LAST TORCH OF LIBERTY, FADIN' FROM THE WORLD.[26]

Thus spoke the Klan. How did educators feel? When educational leaders across the nation were asked to comment on the law, they attacked it. "This measure should be entitled 'A Bill to Make Impossible the American System of Education in Oregon,' " wrote Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University. Arthur Hadley, president of Yale University, saw the initiative as "an attempt to give the majority of the people a dangerous power to restrict the diffusion of truth which it wishes to suppress." "We are sure that the proposed legislation is unconstitutional," said the editor of the *Journal of Education* (a periodical of the educational establishment). The president of the University of Texas commented that "right thinking men" would welcome the cooperation of public and private education.[27] Later John Dewey would comment that "We have a constitutional amendment passed in Oregon a short time ago which to some of us who thought we were good Americans seems to strike at the root of American toleration and trust and good faith between various elements of the population and in each other."[28] In July 1924 the National Education Association resolved that "citizens have the right to educate their children in either public or private schools."[29]

While newspapers gave wide publicity to such opinions, the public schoolteachers of Oregon were mostly silent. But in the profession's semiofficial organ, the *Oregon Teacher's Monthly,* the editor departed from her usual apolitical approach to urge teachers to "study" the bill and then proceed only to plead for it. Compulsory public schooling was the only issue in question: Oregon already had an effective compulsory education bill that ensured that children would receive schooling either in public or private schools. Yet the editor interpreted any arguments against the bill as "a direct or implied arraignment of the public schools."[30] Look at "the Boss Crokers, who grew up without schools, and the Morgans who were splendidly but selfishly educated," she said; were not the most "hated, feared, caricatured" villains the

[26] Estes, *Old Cedar School,* 40–43.

[27] Quoted in an advertisement in the Portland *News,* Nov. 1, 1922.

[28] John Dewey, "The School as a Means of Developing a Social Consciousness and Social Ideas in Children," *Journal of Social Forces,* I (Sept. 1923), 515; see Jorgenson, "Oregon School Law," for national comment on the compulsory bill.

[29] National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings,* LXII (1924), 54.

[30] *Oregon Teacher's Monthly,* XXVII (Oct. 1922), 12.

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class-conscious men who missed the "humanizing influences of the public schools"? In the next issue of the *Monthly* an anonymous teacher wrote an article defending the school bill, claiming that statistics in New York proved that parochial schools produced three to four times more criminals than the public schools.[31] A convention of 133 teachers in Columbia County supported the bill.[32]

It is natural that public schoolteachers should have been proud of the institution they served and vocal in defending it against unjustified charges. As educators they had a professional interest in the quality of schooling, whether public or private. But they chose not to attack specific faults of private schools in Oregon; instead they stated their argument for the bill in broadly ideological terms, totally neglecting the constitutional obstacles to the measure.[33] Hypersensitive, they seemed to assume that a vote against the compulsory school law was a vote against public education, while in fact opponents of the initiative were simply asserting the right of private schools to exist. Public schoolmen, in short, largely obscured rather than clarified the legal, moral, and religious issues involved in the bill.[34]

The level of discourse in the campaign and the fact that the people of Oregon passed a law after being warned repeatedly of its unconstitutionality raised some serious questions about the quality of education. The Klan's appeal, said a writer in *The Survey* on October 15, 1922, was "not merely a childish outburst of anti-Jewish, and anti-Catholic and anti-foreign bigotry." Beneath the mumbo jumbo of the KKK, he said, "the essential fact seems to be that in our contemporaneous American education—both the formal education of the schools and the more pervasive unconscious education of the home, the church, and the social life as a whole—we are cultivating prejudice, planting seeds of intolerance and bigotry."[35] Despite all the talk of "Americanism" the schools in Oregon were "after all a very mechanical affair," wrote John Mecklin in 1924:

> Her sons and daughters, as in her sister states, pass with measured tread through public school, high school and university assimilating the mechanical symbols of culture, and yet these symbols remain mere symbols, traditional, educational and cultural stereotypes. These prospective citizens have not been schooled to

[31] *Ibid.* (Nov. 1922), 6.

[32] Clatskanie *Chief,* Oct. 20, 1922. It is curious that among the hundreds of letters to the editor in newspapers on the school bill those stating the views of teachers or school administrators were missing; the Klan's candidate for state superintendent, who lost in the election, was a school principal in Eugene.

[33] Portland *Oregonian,* Oct. 30, 1922.

[34] In the December 1922 issue of *Oregon Teacher's Monthly* the American Legion's superpatriotic campaign for Americanization won the hearty endorsement of the teachers' magazine.

[35] Quoted in Portland *Telegram,* Oct. 15, 1922.

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the critical analysis of their intellectual heritage. So long as one is clever enough to clothe his propaganda in the familiar dress of these stereotypes he finds ready and uncritical acceptance.[36]

The Klan frame of mind on public education neatly coincided with a common school ideology that had become distorted by nativist prejudice and by the patriotism of the war years. The educational statesmen of Horace Mann's generation had hoped to make the public school so attractive that citizens would desire no other; they had hoped that a common core of Christianity would prove acceptable to families of different religious persuasions. As time passed, Americans generally agreed that some form of education should be made compulsory for all children. But, implicitly at least, both the ideology and practice of public education had acknowledged certain limits to the state's power to compel. Whether for religious or other reasons, parents could send their children to the schools of their choice. Now all that might change, said the editor of the Portland *Telegram:* "We, the majority, have decided what is necessary. . . . The public schools please us. Why not make them please the other fellow? Why not march him up to the school of our choice and say to him in effect: 'There, take that, it's good for you.'"[37] Another Oregonian said that if the bill passed, the next step would be clear: "Some self-appointed patriots calling themselves 100 per cent will come along with a petition requesting that all babes must be removed from the home from the mother's breast lest the babes hear some unpatriotic lullaby song, fed on Eagle Brand milk, and placed in a state institution."[38]

Fear of immigrants and nervousness about "Americanism" were only part of the motivation behind the school monopoly bill. More powerful, though largely underground, was a resurgence of anti-Catholicism.[39] A cartoon against the initiative expressed this vividly: in the center is a pot labeled "compulsory education bill"; on the right are chefs named "class hatred," "Bolshevism," "Prussianism," "persecution," "hate," and "spite"; and on the left, dominating the scene and stirring the "devil's broth" is an ominous black figure called "religious revenge."[40]

A citizen of Glendale put the matter with classic candor: the bill "is not a question of Catholic's [*sic*] having the right to follow the teachings of their Dago pope, but the right of protestants to educate their children by the best

[36] Mecklin, *Ku Klux Klan,* 50.
[37] Portland *Telegram,* Oct. 26, 1922.
[38] *Ibid.,* Nov. 2, 1922.
[39] A writer in the Marshfield *Times* (Nov. 6, 1922) said that the chief purpose of the bill's sponsors was "to get a lick at the Catholics."
[40] Portland *Telegram,* Nov. 1, 1922.

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school system in the world. . . ." The majority has a right to rule, he said; after all, if the papists had a majority they would destroy our institutions.[41] A Silverton man bought a half-page advertisement to warn that "our country is in danger. We need Americans, not mental surfs [*sic*] and one-man worshipers [*sic*]." Aiming at "the Roman Monopoly," he went on to say that thousands of children "are now being fitted to promote un-American ideals, and many of them will become subjects of a foreign prince, consciously or unconsciously, as his American agents—spies and traitors to the best interests of the United States." These "catechized monstrosities" intend to "destroy all of our public schools." Accusations flowed freely from his pen:

> Young children in private schools have no defense against any private ideas antagonistic to our free institutions. We cannot afford to run this risk any longer, and we positively know that traitors are now at this deadly work. These traitors are often times trained to appear like polished gentlemen. They sometimes enter protestant churches and serve as ministers. Their agents are everywhere. Many of them are serving as public school teachers—all for one purpose, to build up their own organization by the destruction of American principles.[42]

"Private schools" meant "private ideas": "private ideas" by definition were dangerous.

Before respectable audiences the bill's advocates "feel that their ordinary line of anti-Catholic talk would render them ridiculous," observed the *Catholic Sentinel*. "Before other audiences, however, and in their press the Kluxers uncover their real designs and indulge in the usual orgy of anti-Catholic calumny. Witness their patronage of ex-nuns, real and faked."[43] Since Maria Monk in Know-Nothing days, the renegade nun had been a favorite weapon against the Roman Church. The KKK revived this hoary hoax in its campaign for members.[44] Exhibit A was Sister Lucretia, who toured the state to vilify Catholicism in general and St. Vincent's Hospital in particular (her charges were stoutly denied by a group of non-Catholic doctors and nurses associated with the hospital). Lucretia was a willing pawn in the Klan's schemes for profit, observed a Catholic organization: "Their's [*sic*] is a campaign for revenue only. . . . Their moral leprosy they seek to veil under the cloak of patriotism and religion. Exponents of truth and social purity, they style themselves, but in reality they are peddlers of lies, vendors of filth, disseminators of hate and enmity."[45] The anti-Catholic stories of smut and conspiracy sounded familiar to the former governor of Oregon, T. T. Geer. He

[41] Glendale *News*, Oct. 12, 1922.
[42] Silverton *Appeal*, Oct. 13, 1922.
[43] Portland *Catholic Sentinel*, Oct. 12, 1922.
[44] Baker City *Herald*, Oct. 24, 1922.
[45] Oregon City *Morning Enterprise*, Nov. 5, 1922.

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recalled that when he had cast his first vote fifty years earlier he had heard similar tales of a "Catholic menace." "I said as much to a man the other day who is at this time certain that he is justified in destroying all other private schools in order that all Catholic private schools may be placed under the ban of law."[46]

A Catholic priest said that "since this so-called compulsory school bill has been proposed, our people have rallied to the church with an intensity and unanimity that I have never known in all my experience."[47] But the lies of the Klan cut deeply into the feelings of many Catholics. One mother said that her daughter could not find work because of the prejudice stirred up by Lucretia and her kind: she almost had a job "until questioned what religion she professed. To her astonishment she was refused the place because of the name Catholic." Why, the mother asked, was a public-school auditorium opened to a hatemonger like the former nun? She would have to move from Oregon to give her daughter a fair chance in life.[48]

In fighting the initiative for a public-school monopoly the Catholics were in a quandary. Clearly they were the chief targets of the bill, yet if the Church openly led the attack, it might reinforce popular worries about Catholic power and thus defeat its own purposes. Catholics, accordingly, muted their publicity against the measure and encouraged other groups to speak out.[49] The main public spokesman and private lobbyist for the Roman Church was the archdiocesan superintendent of education, the Reverend Edwin O'Hara. In his speeches before both Catholic and general audiences he applauded the public schools, but argued that religious schools had an ancient and honorable place in American society.[50] The fight against the school bill presented the spectacle of Catholics joining hands with Lutherans in ecumenical opposition to a common foe.

A sense of outrage united an otherwise miscellaneous collection of opponents of the school bill. Religious leaders—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish—deeply resented the implication that "sectarianism" was "unpatriotic." Businessmen feared increased taxes for new schools and a lower rate of investment and population growth because of such "freak legislation." Minority groups, like Negroes, Jews, and the foreign-born, detected totalitarian

[46] Portland *Oregonian*, Nov. 2, 1922.
[47] Medford *Tribune*, Nov. 2, 1922.
[48] Portland *Oregonian*, Oct. 24, 1922. On October 16, 1922, the *Oregonian* gave an account of a fight at the anti-Catholic meeting held in one of Portland's school auditoriums.
[49] Portland *Catholic Sentinel*, July 20, 1922.
[50] Corvallis *Gazette-Times*, Oct. 10, 1922; J. G. Shaw, *Edwin Vincent O'Hara: American Prelate* (New York, 1957), Chap. IX.

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undertones in the arguments of the bill's supporters. Private-school proprietors fought for their very existence. And citizens of many persuasions saw the tyranny of the majority in a law that threatened religious freedom, parental duty, and constitutional rights.

In the campaign against the bill in press, pulpit, and forum, opponents charged that promoters had secured the initiative by fraud and publicized it by deceit. The Portland *Spectator* said that advocates had won signatures by telling citizens that the purpose of the law was "to give every child an education."[51] Many signers of the petition said later that they did not realize that the act would ban private schools. The measure bore the misleading title on the ballot "Compulsory Education" (devious because Oregon already had an effective compulsory schooling law).[52] Leading spokesmen for the bill exposed themselves to charges of insincerity, for Klansman Gifford sent his son to Hill Military Academy; fellow Klansman William Woodward sent his daughter to another private school; and Walter Pierce, the candidate for governor who was endorsed by the Klan, had consistently voted for bills chartering such institutions while a member of the Oregon legislature.[53] A former Portland school board member observed that proponents of the measure had "been conspicuously absent from the list of those working sincerely to advance the welfare of the public schools."[54] A political observer waxed poetic:

SCHOOL BILLS

In killing a cat, 'tis a popular way
To coat with sweet sugar the pill,
So the kitty all purring and eager and gay
Will gulp it and get very ill;
In killing a school, it is sometimes the rule
To use not the brutal sand-bag,
But to make exhortation about education
And flap the American flag.[55]

Several groups coordinated the attack on the measure: the Portland Committee of Citizens and Taxpayers (largely businessmen); the Lutheran Schools Committee, which had prior experience with a similar bill in Michigan in 1920; the Non-sectarian and Protestant Schools Committee (the central clearinghouse for speakers and newspaper publicity); and the Catholic

[51] Portland *Spectator*, Oct. 14, 1922.
[52] Catholic Civil Rights Association of Oregon, *Twenty-four Reasons Why You Should Vote 'No'* (Portland, 1922), 1.
[53] Salem *Journal*, Oct. 26, 1922; Astoria *Budget*, Oct. 21, 1922.
[54] Portland *Catholic Sentinel*, Oct. 12, 1922.
[55] Aurora *Observer*, Nov. 2, 1922.

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Civil Rights Association of Oregon. In this highly emotional campaign, subtleties about constitutional law and religious liberty were less potent than arguments that the bill would raise taxes and invade parental rights.[56] Opponents as well as supporters wrapped themselves in the flag. The bill was clearly Prussian or Communist in intent, critics said, and a cartoon in the *Telegram* showed Lenin and a hooded Ku Kluxer upholding a placard bearing the message "State Monopoly of Schools Is an Absolute Success in Russia" ("The Wandering Boy," Walter Pierce, stood at their left).[57]

The citizens who opposed the initiative argued that compulsory public education would reinforce autocratic tendencies already apparent in the schools. Hall S. Lusk, a Democratic candidate for the legislature, attacked the bill as "paternalism run mad."[58] A mother wrote that the measure "will only serve to give certain officials more power, which power they have already abused. The parents have precious little to say about their children now. There are teachers, principals, and officials of all kinds . . . so high and mighty that you feel like a serf at times."[59] "By degrees there is being built in our state a machine among the 'aristocratic' element of our profession," wrote a teacher, which "will make serfs, to be moved about at the will of a state superintendent of public instruction through his lieutenants, county superintendents."[60] Rigidity and stultification would result from a state monopoly, said one writer: "Outside the public school, therefore, are needed institutions which are absolutely free from any political dictation . . . from standardized curricula, from methods, and textbooks."[61] Advertisements against the bill quoted Philander Claxton, former US Commissioner of Education:

> I believe in the public school system. It has been the salvation of our democracy; but the private schools and colleges have been the salvation of the public schools. These private institutions have their place in an educational system; they prevent it from becoming autocratic and arbitrary and encourage its growth along new lines.[62]

Minority groups other than the Catholics recognized that the majority could easily become tyrannical if public schools were compulsory. The Jewish community opposed the bill; even Jesse Winburn, a Jewish backer of

[56] See, e.g., Portland *Oregon Voter,* Oct. 7, 1922, 16–17, and the publicity against the bill in the files of LSC.
[57] Portland *Telegram,* Oct. 26, 1922.
[58] *Ibid.,* Oct. 27, 1922.
[59] Portland *Journal,* Oct. 27, 1922.
[60] Portland *Telegram,* Oct. 23, 1922.
[61] *Ibid.,* Nov. 6, 1922.
[62] Non-sectarian and Protestant Speakers' Bureau, "Suggestions to Speakers," 5, LSC; *Proposed Constitutional Amendments,* 26–28.

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Pierce for governor, inserted advertisements condemning the law in newspapers across the state.[63] The Portland Negro newspaper saw "too much Amerism [*sic*] of the Vardamanic type" in the measure and attacked "the diseased mental state caused by ignorant bigotry." It was the duty of all Negroes to "stand against it, knowing the methods of the public school system in the South. . . ."[64] A man signing himself "AN AMERICAN INDIAN" punctured the patriotism of "the white-robed gentleman of the klan that has 100 per cent Americanism for a motto."

> Imagine what your red brothers think, . . . who have been vassals of the United States up to the present time . . . in the event that it becomes a law I will go elsewhere, for, Oregon, you have violated the sacred laws of freedom, and I will not want to stay here, for as a full blooded American I will not stay here under the dictates of a majority of hyphenated Americans for anything.[65]

First- and second-generation immigrants, especially Lutherans of German background, attacked the initiative not only because they had numerous parochial schools to defend but also because they knew that their whole way of life was threatened.[66] One writer stoutly denied that private schools were unable to Americanize children:

> *The argument for the proposed bill, that State monopoly of education is necessary to Americanize the foreigner, and to secure a homogeneous citizenship without racial or class distinction is founded upon false assumptions and supported by unsound reasoning.* Actual statistics will show that there are as many nationalities represented in the private schools as in the public schools; that the discipline and intercourse of the pupils are just as democratic . . . and that there is absolutely no difference in the tone and teaching of the private and the public schools in matters affecting American ideas and ideals. . . . In some respects and in many cases it is a fact that the private schools prove to be better Americanizers for children of the foreign-born, or who are themselves foreign-born, than the public schools. There is usually closer personal contact and a sympathy between the teachers and the pupils, and the parents of the pupils, than is practicable in most public schools. This becomes valuable when the pupils are unfamiliar with the customs, language, and methods of American life. Then, if the teacher be of the same religion as the foreign-born parents or pupils, and can speak the native language of both pupils and parents, it establishes a tie of sympathy and influence between them that contributes immensely to the Americanization of the pupils.[67]

[63] Portland *Scribe,* Nov. 3, 1922; Salem *Journal,* Oct. 28, 1922.

[64] Portland *Times,* n.d., clipping in LSC. James Vardaman was a southern white supremacist; apparently the Portland Negroes did not agree with a speaker in Grandview, Washington, who said that "the better class of colored people of the South like the Klan." (Grandview, Wash., *Herald,* Mar. 2, 1923.)

[65] Portland *Telegram,* Nov. 6, 1922.

[66] Martin Anderson, "A Study of Bills and Resolutions for Curriculum Prescriptions Introduced at the Oregon Legislature, 1901–1939," master's thesis, University of Oregon, 1939, 27–28. As state senator in 1919, Pierce had expressed a widespread phobia when he declared in debate that a teacher of German had poisoned the minds of his two daughters.

[67] *Twenty-four Reasons,* 9.

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To Lutherans and Seventh-Day Adventists as well as Catholics, the basic issue was freedom to educate their children in accord with their religious convictions. "This measure virtually involves a union of Church and state," said a spokesman for the Adventists. "The government that turns its citizens into subjects and makes them mere cogs in a wheel, without any rights of their own, is a government that is transforming itself into a tyranny."[68] The state was constricting religious pluralism and establishing a civil religion of homogeneous Americanism. The bill was based, said a group of Presbyterian ministers, "on the philosophy of autocracy that the child belongs primarily to the state; it is an unjustifiable invasion of family authority and threatens ultimately the guarantees of our American liberty."[69] American religious freedom, said the Catholic Civil Rights Association, means not "*toleration* merely, which implies privileges conferred or favors granted, that may be abridged or taken away by the State; but it is the principle of natural and inalienable right, recognized and secured."[70] The most conclusive reason for opposing the bill on religious grounds was precisely the golden rule, said Unitarian minister William Eliot.[71] "Suppose the Catholic majority in Louisiana disregarded the rights of the Protestant minority in Louisiana, would we not call that tyranny?" asked a leading Congregationalist. "But if the Protestant majority in Oregon sets aside the rights of the Catholic minority, shall we call it patriotism?"[72] Despite this widespread opposition to the initiative by religious leaders of all persuasions, a large number of Oregonians agreed with a citizen who wrote to the editor of the Salem *Journal* that "it is unpatriotic to flaunt our sectarian creeds, dogmas, and tenets if it is opposing civilized advancement either by word or garb."[73]

While differing in motives, the opponents of the bill for compulsory schools generally agreed about the purpose and limits of public education. They had no quarrel with the principle of free state schools or with the need to create one people from many. They objected, rather, to a state monopoly that would violate their constitutional rights and that presumed peril in any departure from the views of the majority.

On November 7, 1922, the voters of Oregon approved the compulsory

[68] *Proposed Constitutional Amendments,* 29.
[69] *Ibid.,* 30.
[70] *Twenty-four Reasons,* 7.
[71] Astoria *Astorian,* Oct. 31, 1922.
[72] Portland *Telegram,* Oct. 21, 1922. There was, however, a split in Presbyterian ranks as a number of ministers, especially in smaller communities, supported the bill. (See *ibid.,* Oct. 23, 1922.) Protestant ministers were, in general, among the bill's most vocal advocates.
[73] Salem *Journal,* Nov. 6, 1922.

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school initiative by a vote of 115,506 to 103,685.[74] The major parties split on the issue; many Democrats opposed the measure, and the Multnomah County Republican Committee endorsed it.[75] The vote was a political upset.[76] Prior to the election the *Oregonian* reported that betting odds on the school measure were ten to seven for its defeat. But in the postelection analysis the newspaper claimed that the school bill had passed largely because of anti-Catholicism and the "invisible government" created by the Klan and other secret societies, the school question being "the most upsetting factor in the history of Oregon since the agitation over slavery."[77] "It was impossible for us to overcome the ruthless activities of the Masons, the minor lodges, the Ku Klux Klan, the Federated Patriotic Societies, the Royal Riders of the Red Robe, etc. etc.," said a representative of the Lutheran Schools Committee.[78]

Like prohibition, antievolution laws, and compulsory Bible-reading laws, the school monopoly bill was symbolically important, for it legitimized the values of a group through state action. But on occasion the monetary value of the campaign also became apparent. A man who claimed to represent the Masons appeared at a meeting of the Portland School Board in December to complain that the contract for a new high school was being awarded to a firm riddled with Catholics. Favors, he said, "should be given to men and firms in full sympathy with the public school system, and not to those who aided in the fight against the compulsory school bill in the recent election." He failed, as did attempts in the state legislature, to put churches on the tax rolls. The anti-Catholics did succeed in eliminating Columbus Day as a holiday (as a slap at the Knights of Columbus). George Putnam, editor of the *Capitol Statesman,* observed: "Politics is silly at best. But this sort of thing passes from the realm of foolishness to the

[74] Portland *Oregonian,* Nov. 9, 1922. The split in votes was not rural versus urban on the bill; both Multnomah and Washington Counties, in which Portland was situated, voted for the bill by a sizable majority. (See Earl Pomeroy, *The Pacific Slope: A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada* [New York, 1965], 226–28; Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, *Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest* [2d ed., New York, 1967], 494–498. Johansen discusses Pierce's denial that he "had made a deal for Klan votes.")

[75] Portland *Catholic Sentinel,* Oct. 19, 1922; George Turnbull, *An Oregon Crusader* (Portland, 1955), 134–39; Jalmar Johnson, "When the Klan 'Took Over' Oregon," Portland *Oregonian,* Apr. 2, 1965.

[76] In 1922 there were 238,444 registered Republicans as opposed to 89,477 Democrats. Thus Pierce's victory over the Republican incumbent governor surprised many. The Klan had endorsed Pierce and attacked Olcott (who had issued a proclamation against the Klan in 1922).

[77] Portland *Oregonian,* Oct. 29, Nov. 9, 1922. The Portland *Telegram* (Nov. 2, 1922) predicted defeat for the school bill. The Portland *Oregon Voter* (Nov. 11, 1922) expressed surprise at the outcome, attributing the upset to the "influence of the anti-Catholic vote, especially in Portland."

[78] The Reverend Rudolf Messerli to the Reverend F. Pfotenhauer, Nov. 10, 1922, LSC.

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realm of mental disorders. Politics has simply gone mad." In the meantime, Oregon was "getting some fine advertising" nationally.[79]

After passage of the bill, representatives of church and private schools gathered to discuss how to test the law in the courts. "Since we have been defeated by a narrow margin, we feel that Oregon will have an ideal case to test out the constitutionality of such laws in the Supreme Court of the United States and thus through its defeat put itself into a position where it can be of service to our people in other states," wrote a Lutheran. "We are so confident of this that we look upon this defeat as a God-sent blessing in disguise."[80] The law was not to take effect until 1926, but the private schools acted immediately. Father O'Hara sought and obtained the services of the American Civil Liberties Union. Roger Baldwin of that organization recommended a judge "to handle the legal end of the attack on the Oregon law and perhaps to do some research."[81] The National Catholic Welfare League and the Knights of Columbus helped to raise funds for the legal battle, believing that the "educational welfare of the Catholics generally may hinge upon" the result of the decisions.[82]

The Society of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary and the Hill Military Academy both filed bills of complaint against Pierce and the state and county district attorneys as agents responsible for enforcing the school law. Much of the legal argument perforce dealt with technical questions that had not arisen in the public debate before the passage of the compulsory public-school bill: Was the suit premature since the law would not take effect until 1926? What were the precedents for actions by the state that deprived private corporations (in this case schools) of their property rights? When does interference with the patronage of a business become arbitrary and unlawful? Both the lawyers' briefs and the decisions of the federal judges dealt with issues such as these, but they also probed the broader questions of public policy on public education. In so doing they revealed much of the educational ideology of the time.[83]

The action of the state in requiring parents to send their children to public schools was not an abridgment of their privileges and immunities as citizens, said Wallace McCammant, an attorney representing Governor

[79] Turnbull, *Oregon Crusader*, 160–64.
[80] Messerli to Pfotenhauer, Nov. 10, 1922, LSC.
[81] Shaw, *Edwin Vincent O'Hara*, 99–101.
[82] Seattle, Wash., *Times*, Jan. 21, 1923; Spokane, Wash., *Chronicle*, Feb. 14, 1923.
[83] The lawyers' arguments and other information bearing on the Pierce case were collected in a booklet entitled *The Oregon School Fight: A True History* (Portland, 1924), esp. 28, 40–41, 43–45, 55–69.

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Pierce and the other defendants. The state had undoubted right to compel all children to be educated; the compulsory school bill was simply a means of ensuring that this education would be standard and efficient. Thus the statute bore a reasonable relation to the welfare of the child and the preservation of the state:

> the great danger overshadowing all others which confront the American people is the danger of class hatred. History will demonstrate the fact that it is the rock upon which many a republic has been broken and I don't know any better way to fortify the next generation against that insidious poison than to require that the poor and the rich, the people of all classes and distinction, and of all different religious beliefs, shall meet in the common schools, which are the great American melting pot, there to become . . . the typical American of the future.[84]

McCammant's colleagues reiterated his argument by saying that the initiative had been passed by the will of the people and that the government was "one in which majorities rule."[85]

J. P. Kavanaugh, attorney for the sisters, denied such charges in a searching discussion of the role of private education in American life and of the constitutional rights of parents. In Oregon as elsewhere, he said, private schools had a long and honorable history. "We do not deny the value of compulsory education nor . . . the right of the state to regulate standards in all schools; but no one has proved the inefficiency of private schools." The issue of patriotism "is only a guise . . . presented to deceive the people on this question." The right to conduct and patronize private schools had long been recognized as natural and inherent, subject to violation by the police power of the state only in cases of compelling necessity. But no such necessity could be demonstrated sufficient to warrant a breach of constitutional rights. Why should Oregon be the only state, with the exception of the Soviet Union, to undertake "to have a monopoly of education, to put it in a straitjacket, by the fixing of unalterable standards and thereby to bring their people and their citizens to one common level. . . ." The real danger, he commented, came not from the children who were the targets of the law, but from movements—here he was referring to the KKK and similar organizations—"whose avowed purpose is to defeat law and order, and where one may be the accuser, judge and executioner at the same time, defying the Courts and the authority and the law."[86]

The attorney for the Hill Military Academy joined Kavanaugh in attacking the premises of the bill. The claim that the foreign-born must be

[84] *Ibid.*, 63, 110–11, 115.
[85] *Ibid.*, 118.
[86] *Ibid.*, 80–82, 88, 97–98.

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assimilated through compulsory public schooling was a myth in Oregon; the number of unnaturalized citizens was small, and most children of immigrants were already in the public schools. And was it plausible that the public school could not survive unless made compulsory, that private schools would undermine public ones? Statistics in Oregon showed a 60.8 per cent increase in attendance in public schools over the seven years previous to passage of the bill, while private schools gained only 4.1 per cent.[87]

Dan Marlarkey argued for the sisters that the claim "of mingling rich and poor" in public education was "all beside the point." In cold fact the public school was really neither a common school nor a melting pot:

> You don't mingle the rich and poor. You have your schools established in districts; you have your school out here by Riverside, a public school that is as aristocratic an institution as ever existed anywhere. Why? Because the people that live in that neighborhood are people that are well to do. Their children go to the public schools. They don't mix with the poor. . . . The character of the children that go to the schools is determined by the neighborhood in which the school is located. You talk about foreigners. I haven't the figures but I will venture to say that there is less than five per cent of all the children that go to all the schools of this plaintiff who are foreign born. . . . Your foreign born children go, because they are ordinarily poor people, to the places where they get their education for nothing. You go up . . . to the Failing School, and there is where you will find your foreign born. There is where you will find your Italians and your Polish Jews lately over here, and they will be together just as much as they would in private schools.[88]

No one could deplore class hatred more than the very people who opposed the bill, said Malarkey, for "we have lately been made the victims of it." Such empty pieties came ill from the very people who in passing the school bill created "more class hatred" than ever existed in the state and by a majority were then compelling "parents to surrender this right that they have exercised since the dawn of history. . . ."[89]

The three-man federal court found in favor of the plaintiffs in its decision handed down on March 31, 1924. They issued a preliminary injunction against enforcing the statute, denying that the suit was premature. The police powers of the state, they said, must not be "exercised arbitrarily and despotically" and could be justified only when "there exists a reasonable relation between the character of the legislation and the policy to be subserved." The school bill did not meet these criteria, for its purpose was "to take utterly away from complainants their constitutional right and privilege to teach in the grammar grades—and has and will deprive them of their

[87] *Ibid.*, 99–101, 103.
[88] *Ibid.*, 129.
[89] *Ibid.*, 131.

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property without due process of law." The defendants showed no compelling necessity for the statute. "The melting pot idea applied to the common schools of the state, as an incentive for the adoption of the act, is an extravagance in simile," said the court. And if the purpose was political in origin, "then the assimilation idea is pointedly answered by the opinion rendered [by the US Supreme Court] in the Meyer case" (which ruled unconstitutional a law forbidding the teaching of foreign languages):

> The desire of the legislature to foster a homogeneous people with American ideals prepared readily to understand current discussions of civic matters is easy to appreciate. Unfortunate experiences during the late war and aversion toward every characteristic of truculent adversaries were certainly enough to quicken that aspiration. But the means adopted, we think, exceed the limitations upon the power of the state and conflict with rights assured to plaintiff in error.[90]

As the Pierce case went on its way to the US Supreme Court, the *Catholic Sentinel* was cautiously optimistic. "The plain implication of the decision is that freedom of education means freedom of education," it said. "This liberty of teaching guaranteed by the Constitution and now formally proclaimed by a federal court is a real liberty, not a pale simulacrum of liberty as conceived by the Ku Klux Klan. . . ." But already rumors flew that "the forces of intolerance will now shift their attack on private schools. Not being able to destroy these schools they will attempt to put them in a straitjacket of regulation governing textbooks and the minutiae of the curriculum."[91]

The Klan, meanwhile, had not given up the battle to outlaw private schools in the neighboring state of Washington. "The Oregon decision will make no difference in the fight we have started in Washington," said the KKK's Grand Dragon in Portland.[92] A Klan newspaper attacked the decision as a violation of human rights in the name of property rights. In the higher court they expected "an entirely different ending." To them it was a self-evident American principle that "the first duty of a democracy is self-preservation of itself through the enforced education of individuals. . . ."[93] If the Supreme Court did not see the point, then it was time to change the Constitution.

On June 1, 1925, the United States Supreme Court gave its verdict in

[90] *Society of Sisters of the Holy Names, Plaintiff,* v. *Pierce et al., Defendants,* Nos. E 8662 and 8660 cons. (D. Oregon, filed Mar. 31, 1924) in *Oregon School Cases: A Complete Record* (Baltimore, 1925), 54; *Oregon School Fight,* 132, 136–37, 139, 143. The case was 296 F. 928.

[91] Portland *Catholic Sentinel,* Apr. 3, 1923.

[92] Portland *Oregonian,* Apr. 1, 1923.

[93] *Oregon School Fight,* 147–48.

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the Pierce case. It had heard elaborations and refinements of the arguments presented in the district court together with briefs from *amici curiae*. Again the arguments pro and con probed the purposes and proper limits of public education in assessing whether the Oregon law had deprived parents of their liberty without due process of law.[94]

The brief for Governor Pierce maintained that compulsory public schooling was necessary to avert "the moral pestilence of paupers, vagabonds, and possibly convicts"; it was no coincidence, it said, that an increase in juvenile delinquency attended the increase in students at private schools. Internal distrust and dissension resulting from the influence of nonpublic schools would weaken the nation in its fight against foreign dangers. Such schools might well become subversive:

> If the Oregon School Law is held to be unconstitutional it is not only a possibility but almost a certainty that within a few years the great centers of population in our country will be dotted with elementary schools which instead of being red on the outside will be red on the inside.
>
> Can it be contended that there is no way in which a state can prevent the entire education of a considerable proportion of its future citizens being controlled and conducted by bolshevists, syndicalists and communists?

Without firm state control children "may be intentionally mistaught as to the true character of the government and history of the United States. The extreme distortions of truth on these subjects which have been circulated throughout the United States in recent years would be ludicrous if they were not so tragic." In sum, only "a compulsory system of public school education will encourage the patriotism of its citizens, and train its younger citizens to become more willing and more efficient defenders of the United States in times of public danger."[95]

The arguments that public schools would diminish crime and pauperism and would promote good citizenship and social unity had a familiar ring: they had been part of the common school ideology for almost a hundred years. But, said the brief for the sisters, in passing from persuasion to compulsion the advocates of the Oregon law had passed from democratic to totalitarian methods. Such compulsion belongs to Sparta or Plato's ideal commonwealth or Bolshevist Russia, but in America "the child of man is his parent's child and not the state's." Monopoly in education would mean standardization:

[94] The complete transcripts of record, briefs, and oral pleadings, court opinions, and other documents are recorded in *Oregon School Cases*.
[95] *Ibid.*, 97–98, 102–103, 115–16.

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The young minds of the nation should not be cast in any such straight-jacket and their diversification and individual development dwarfed and prevented. . . . the excess of power which results to the state from such a device clearly serves to maintain and preserve despotism and checks the normal evolution of liberty.

It matters not whether the tyranny is exerted by a majority or a minority; it is tyranny nonetheless. Like other forms of pluralism, religious diversity would disappear in education. Either no religion could be taught or only that "religion prescribed by the state and dictated from time to time by a majority of 'the voters of Oregon.'" More was at stake than the survival of a few private schools, said Louis Marshall in a brief supporting the sisters:

Fundamentally . . . the questions in these cases are: May liberty to teach and to learn be restricted? Shall such liberty be dependent upon the will of the majority? Shall such majority be permitted to dictate to parents and to children where and by whom instruction shall be given? If such power can be asserted, then it will lead inevitably to the stifling of thought.[96]

When the Supreme Court justices gave their opinion, they upheld the contention of the lower court that the private schools had been deprived of their property without due process of law under the Fourteenth Amendment and affirmed its injunction primarily on the grounds of property rights. But the Court went further to make general comments about education that have helped to define compulsory education in America:

No question is raised concerning the power of the state reasonably to regulate all schools, to inspect, supervise, and examine them, their teachers and pupils; to require that all children of proper age attend some school, that teachers shall be of good moral character and patriotic disposition, that certain studies plainly essential to good citizenship must be taught, and that nothing be taught which is manifestly inimical to the public welfare.[97]

But it was clear that private schools "were engaged in an undertaking not inherently harmful, but long regarded as useful and meritorious." The compulsory public-school law clearly and unreasonably interfered with the right of parents to regulate the education of their children:

The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the state to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the state; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations.[98]

[96] *Ibid.*, 182–83, 275, 281, 285, 614.

[97] *Sisters of the Holy Names* v. *Pierce et al.*, 268 US 510 (1925); see also Sam Duker, *The Public Schools and Religion: The Legal Context* (New York, 1966), Chap. III; Robert F. Drinan, S. J., discusses some of the ambiguities of the Pierce decision concerning state finance of church schools in *Religion, the Courts, and Public Policy* (New York, 1963), 122–27.

[98] *Sisters* v. *Pierce.*

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The Supreme Court's decision that the state had no right "to standardize its children" ended only one experiment of the "tribal twenties" to use the schools to arrest unwanted change and to coerce uniformity. As Walter Lippmann observed, this was a time of "American inquisitors" whose antics amused the sophisticated but whose desire to define and enforce orthodoxy undermined effective education. Fundamentalists in politics and religion, obscurantists who feared the free play of thought, racists who deplored the "mongrelization" of the American people—they shared a common distrust of pluralism, a common desire to revert to unexamined tradition. But by the 1920's the old unconscious conservatism was fast disappearing, and the pseudo conservative's chief recourse was an attempt to persuade the uncertain majority to force the minority to conform.[99] "Thus comes to an end the effort to regiment the mental life of Americans through coerced public school instruction," observed the *New Republic* on learning the Court's decision.[100] Thus did come to an end this chapter of coercion, but the schools would remain a ready target for those who saw peril in pluralism.

[99] For a perceptive discussion of the long-range historical importance of this decision, see Will Herberg, "Religion and Education," in *Religious Perspectives in American Culture,* ed. James Smith and A. Leland Jamison (3 vols., Princeton, N.J., 1961), II, 36–39; Willis Rudy, *Schools in a Mass Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1965), 202–205; for later manifestations of the "pseudo-conservative revolt," see essays by Richard Hofstadter and Seymour Lipset in *The Radical Right: The New American Right,* ed. Daniel Bell (Garden City, N. Y., 1964), 97–136, 373–446.

[100] "Can the Supreme Court Guarantee Toleration?" *New Republic,* XLIII (June 17, 1925), 85–87.

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Reviews of Books

General

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND THE HISTORIAN: THE CONFERENCE AT BELMONT OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SERVICES TO HISTORY, MAY 1967. Edited by *Dagmar Horna Perman.* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Clio. 1968. Pp. viii, 176. $6.00.)

THIS little book tells of the formation and activities of a Joint Committee on Bibliographical Services to History for which the AHA furnished the chairman, Professor Oron J. Hale. It contains papers prepared for the committee's consideration before and during its three-day conference at Belmont and summarizes the depressing results of a questionnaire conducted by the committee's staff.

Officials of the Library of Congress described important new services made possible by the new technology of information storage and retrieval, as did representatives of the Department of State's Office of External Research, the American Bibliographic Center, and the American Council of Learned Societies. Others surveyed past achievements and discernible new directions in historical bibliography.

The conference was engaged in exploration. The papers, descriptive, appraising, imaginative, and skeptical, provide a useful introduction to a critical problem now facing historical scholarship. Their purport is that electronic computers and related elements of automated information systems are already available to provide bibliographic controls essential to scholarship, but that the complex needs of historians can be met only if they are anticipated and provided for. Determination of what should satisfy the requirements of historians is their responsibility and cannot be left to computer technicians. It is already late, but there may be time to develop proposals for a long-range program and to test them in a limited project.

It may be a long time before a historian is able to order a grocery list of historical bibliography and abstracts of periodical articles on a subject for research named by him and receive the information in an early mail. It may not be quite so long before he can subscribe to a service that sends him abstracts and bibliographical data from an inclusive range of current publications pertaining to historical topics in which he has a known interest. It should sooner be possible for him to review a truly inclusive, current list of research projects in progress before embarking on one. When these and other services are at his disposal, there will still be plenty of work for the historian to do, but less of his energy should be wasted.

Washington, D.C. GEORGE F. HOWE

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LA LOGIQUE DE L'HISTOIRE. By *Charles Morazé.* [Les essais, Number 129.] ([Paris:] Gallimard. 1967. Pp. 327. 16.50 fr.)

La logique de l'histoire, Professor Charles Morazé announced in the opening lines of his preface, "is a work of pure theory but also the expression of a *cas de conscience.*" The mounting pressure of events that have constituted the history of the past quarter century, he explains, drove him first to abandon a detailed study of the north of France in the nineteenth century in favor of an investigation of the nature of history and then, with the acceleration of our crisis, to the condensation of thousands of pages into the compass of this small volume. The result is unabashed, breathless revelation.

History, he begins, is not merely the sum of its parts, but rather the realization of the logic of human development; its analysis would involve "the essential articulation of a general theory of the sciences of man." From this awesome undertaking the author backs away with the recognition that its complete formulation would (or will?) take more time. He proceeds to treat history itself under four main headings: "the function of *historicité,* the exploration of the possible, encounters with the 'certain' and with essential history."

Morazé's obvious purpose is to define the relationship of history to evolution. From an initial feeling that history was a mere part of evolution, and therefore self-generating, he has come to recognize that it is actually made by men but that, in its turn, it forms human society. The confrontation of the "possible" and the "certain" provides the main drama of the book. Resolved to elude the toils of determinism, the author offers biology as an escape route that he never quite explains. He does, however, identify the development of scientific thought as the prime mover behind the historical process. Nature, including human nature, he states, tends to repeat patterns of events until unmasked and mastered by historical or scientific thought. History can thus be raised from the murderous level of mobs or states to the safe plateau of humanity if we do not miss our cue.

Or so I read the message, but it is not easy to decipher. The text struggles with too heavily distilled content and labors under the burden of unfortunate embellishments. In spite of chronic name-dropping, moreover, the author fails to place his own work in relation to other studies in the same field. Finally, the ideas are not quite new enough, the analysis not quite complete enough, the style not quite elegant enough to carry off the implicit sense of urgency, originality, and importance. *La logique de l'histoire* is a *tour de prétention manquée.*

Cornell University E. W. Fox

ÉCONOMIE ET HISTOIRE. By *Jean Lhomme.* [Travaux de droit, d'économie, de sociologie et de sciences politiques, Number 55.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1967. Pp. 200.)

THE area of study known as economic history has not, in France, been the common meeting ground for scholars trained in the distinct disciplines of economics and history, as in the United States, or the subject of a separate discipline, as in Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries. Instead, historians have been responsible for most of the best scholarly works in economic history. The

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present volume, written by a professor of economics in the Faculty of Law of Paris, does not constitute a significant exception to this generalization. It consists of a number of loosely related essays, most of them previously published. The topics covered include "New Views [not really] on an Old Discussion"; "The Attitude of the Economist toward Economic History"; "Some Great Crises of French Society" (1848, 1871, 1914–1918, 1936, and 1940–1944); "Theoretical Lessons from a Study of Long-Term Wages"; "The State and [industrial] Concentration under the Second Empire"; and "On the Integration of Economic Concepts in Time."

No primary sources are utilized, and the level of economic analysis is not high. The volume provides a good illustration of the reasons why French economists, unlike those of the United States, have not made notable contributions in the field of economic history.

University of Wisconsin RONDO CAMERON

ESSAYS ON HISTORY AND LITERATURE. By *Daniel Aaron et al.* Edited by *Robert H. Bremner.* ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 190. $5.00.)

THESE four essays in honor of Foster Rhea Dulles, marking his retirement from Ohio State University, are interesting evidence of the interrelationship of certain constant historiographical problems that face historians and of the rhythm of generational change within the historical profession. Since the formation of the profession in the 1880's, there has been concern with the philosophical conflict between the dominant metaphor of scientism—an empirical approach to facts—and the alternative philosophy that the acquisition of knowledge is impossible without the prior imaginative creation of hypotheses. These moments of concern parallel crises in the national culture when new public attitudes are emerging which, in rejecting the *status quo,* must also reject the reading of the historical record by which the *status quo* justified its existence.

World War II marks the end of the domination of popular and historical thought by the Populist-progressive outlook, so hostile toward the growth of a new corporate-bureaucratic America, which held out a nostalgic hope for the restoration of Jeffersonian agrarian simplicity. Since the end of the 1940's, historians have begun to analyze the presuppositions of the Populist-progressive attitude both in its general expression and in that of the professional historians. They have also begun to rewrite the history of the nineteenth-century aristocracies, which the Populist-progressives hated so much. Accepting the corporate-bureaucratic world as a *status quo* that cannot be destroyed, many of the new historians can approach its beginnings in the nineteenth century from a very different perspective.

The first essay, Daniel Aaron's "The Treachery of Recollection: The Inner and the Outer History," describes the author's problems, technical and emotional, in writing a book about the Leftist exponents of Populism-progressivism in the 1930's, living men who are his acquaintances or friends or enemies.

Edward Lurie's "American Scholarship: A Subjective Interpretation of Nineteenth-Century Cultural History" is unintentionally ironic in its use of

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Dewey's and Beard's historical relativism, which they had created to undermine conservatism, in order to undermine the Populist-progressivism that they had hoped to make the basis of the new intellectual establishment. Lurie wants us to break away from the views of Henry Adams, Mark Twain, Vernon Parrington, and Matthew Josephson to discover that the late nineteenth century was not a period of sterile materialism but a fruitful, dynamic period of bureaucratic corporate growth guided by an alliance of "public men of intellectual and academic power with analogous types from the world of business and finance." Another irony may be that the cultural historians dismissed by Lurie actually recognized this growth, but labeled it sterile materialism.

Stow Persons' sensitive and intelligent essay, "The Origins of the Gentry," uses nineteenth-century literature to suggest the existence of a class that differed from the eighteenth-century gentry and the nineteenth-century aristocracy and that disappeared at the end of the nineteenth century.

Finally, Russel B. Nye, in his essay, "History and Literature: Branches of the Same Tree," calls into question the whole tradition of scientific history that continues so strongly today. He clearly believes that more can be learned from the philosophy of history as human drama, as expounded by the mid-nineteenth-century literary historians, than from the scientism that in its modern form attempts to purge all drama from human history by reducing it to mathematical formulas to satisfy computers. He reminds historians that in writing they must be concerned with "metaphor, symmetry, and clarity of design," with "direct and concrete prose, progression and organization, and sympathy with the dynamics of language." He reminds them that the historian must be concerned with the internal as well as the external experience of men. And he reminds them that any and all writing is a creative act demanding the artistic and human responsibility of selectivity and interpretation.

University of Minnesota DAVID W. NOBLE

THE IMPERIAL ORDER. By *Robert G. Wesson.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 547. $10.00.)

To examine "power where it is purest," a political scientist here sifts through the history of empires from Old Kingdom Egypt to tsarist Russia. His main conclusion is that by stifling pluralism imperial regimes make the societies that support them fatally passive. His information comes from approximately six hundred books and articles, primarily recent scholarly works in English but including some in Russian, German, French, Spanish, and Italian, as well as a few classical works in modern editions and a sprinkling of semipopular writings.

The many historians who are suspicious of excursions through world history in its entirety will be unhappy with this book. Foreshortening inevitably occurs. For example, to show how emperors manipulate culture Professor Wesson writes: "When Cyrus conquered Babylonia, he had his scribes compose a long poem on the evils of the previous king. . . ." This is true as far as it goes, but the fact remains that the previous king was Nabonidus, a queer and disruptive ruler who had been absent from the capital for years and had tried to change the established religion. Inevitably also, sources from a very mixed bag are cited with equal trust.

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Those like myself who welcome historical studies on a grand scale (in hopes that man can understand what he has done) would tolerate these faults to learn something from the author's exploration of such themes as the equalitarianism of terror and the use of religion to entangle autocrats in an ethical system. On balance, however, a tactical mistake and two strategic errors spoil the book for everyone.

The tactical mistake consists of piling on clichés and truisms. Aesop is identified as "a sage observer of human nature." When sultans maintained harems, we are solemnly informed, "offspring were usually fairly numerous."

Evidently the author's intention was to analyze imperial power as the price paid for achievements. Somehow, though, the issue fades away unresolved, and the book becomes a straight discussion of the concentration of imperial power. This first strategic slip blurs what the achievements amounted to and why they were mentioned in the first place.

With concentration of power now the sole subject, the book undergoes another impromptu metamorphosis and becomes a study not of empires but of despotism. This is the second strategic error, for instances of despotism may as well be taken from tiny countries such as Dahomey, minor regions on the order of Calabria, or even single institutions like the German Army. By the end of the book, all the examples are of this kind, vaguely said to develop in the wake of empires. The over-all effect is one of assiduous confusion.

Harvard University ROBERT ERWIN

THE PROBLEM OF RESTORATION: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE POLITICAL HISTORY. By *Robert A. Kann.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 441. $15.00.)

A RECOGNIZED authority in modern Austrian history, Professor Kann has so successfully enlarged his field of research through comparative studies that he now proves able to make a very substantial American contribution to the general history of Europe. Three-quarters of his new book consists of twelve essays on specific cases of "reestablishment of a state of political and social affairs that was upset by previous revolutionary change." This second part of the volume immediately attracts the reader. But perusal of the first, theoretical part on "the concepts" is indispensable for the understanding of the case studies. The introductory section also provides stimulating discussions of such issues as Marxian determinism versus indeterminate change, tradition versus progress, revolution versus counterrevolution.

I do not feel qualified to say anything about the first three case studies that deal with ancient history—Jewish, Greek, and Roman—except that they are as striking as the others and equally cautious in their conclusions. Charles Diehl would have welcomed the choice of the next case in the long-neglected field of Byzantine history and Kann's fairness in recognizing Justinian's real greatness although even he could not restore the greatness of a reunified Roman Empire. Equally fair is Kann's interpretation of the controversial personality of Otto III: opposing those who evaluate him as a realistic follower of power politics like Otto I, the author is fully aware that only during his short reign did the idea of

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a truly universal *Renovatio imperii Romanorum* have a better chance to materialize than in either 800 or 962. Choice of the first Plantagenet king of England as an example of an attempt to restore earlier achievements under the Norman kings is surprising, but Kann considers this example merely "an imperfect illustration of the restoration process." In contrast, he provides a better example in the last of four medieval chapters; far from idealizing Emperor Frederick II, he, along with Oswald Redlich, praises Rudolf of Habsburg and rates "Christian ideals of peace and justice," even imperfectly materialized, higher than imperial—or rather imperialistic—universalism.

The chapter on the restoration of Catholicism in Austria is particularly instructive. It is the only one in which Kann turns to "a strictly ideological restoration process," showing its political and social implications. In view of the present ecumenical re-evaluation of the Reformation, it is gratifying that the author, quoting primary sources, objectively tries to reconcile the Catholic interpretations of Hugo Hantsch and those of Protestant historians.

The "classical" cases of Stuart and Bourbon Restorations are rightly deemphasized, and the conclusions of the last two case studies had to be even more negative. Opposing such authorities as James Bryce, Kann shows very convincingly that the Second *Reich* of 1871 was not at all a restoration of the Holy Roman Empire. But he is also skeptical when he examines future possibilities of dynastic restorations; he sees a somewhat better chance for the Spanish Bourbons than for the Austrian Habsburgs.

In his "final reflection" the author explains why he excluded all cases of national restoration after foreign conquest. Let us hope that he will treat that separate problem in a companion volume to the present one, which is one of the rare books where all historians of whatever specialty will find indispensable information and inspiration for their own research.

White Plains, New York O. Halecki

MENSCHHEIT UND GESCHICHTE: UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZU ARNOLD JOSEPH TOYNBEES "A STUDY OF HISTORY." By *Manfred Henningsen*. [Schriftenreihe zur Politik und Geschichte.] ([Munich:] Paul List Verlag. 1967. Pp. 159. DM 19.80.)

Although this compact, very readable book tells us nothing really new about Toynbee—is that possible anymore?—its value lies in the author's genuinely historical approach to his subject, which is all too rare in the massive literature on Toynbee. Following Toynbee's own method of attempting to understand the processes of civilization in terms of "challenge and response," he seeks in the first part to identify the challenges that evoked the "sensitive responses" in *A Study of History*. These he finds on three levels: in Toynbee's personal commentaries, which illuminate the genesis of his great work; in the "configuration of contemporary political and spiritual tendencies" that Toynbee confronted during his career; and in Toynbee's relationship to a tradition of historiography that concerned itself with similar configurations and offered similar responses. He explores the first of these areas in highly interesting chapters entitled "Bibliography as Biography," "Education and Reality," and "Historism and History."

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In exploring the second and third levels, he relates Toynbee to such figures as Proust and Mann, Herodotus and Ranke. What emerges in this first part is a sympathetic and successful synthesis of Toynbee the man, the historian, and the philosopher.

The second part, Henningsen's critique of Toynbee, is less successful in that it covers old ground. Even here, however, he is suggestive. In treating Jung's influence on Toynbee, especially, he shows that the critical issue is not that Toynbee indulges in metahistory—all great historians do to some extent—but that Toynbee's particular brand results in a "re-mythologization and dissolution" of history itself. If this tendency is what Henningsen means in calling the *Study* "symptomatic of the spiritual situation of our time," he may be right. But then we should not be surprised that Toynbee finds more favor with the reading public in general than with historians in particular, for historians cannot be expected to take flight from the very thing they study. Thus, while Toynbee emerges from these pages as an impressive carrier of the *Zeitgeist,* perhaps even because he is, he also seems, to me at least, even more remote from what most historians actually do or should do as historians. Anyway, once the reader has acquainted himself with Toynbee and his critics, I can think of no work better suited to enable him to consolidate his own views on this most interesting historian of our time.

University of Southern California ROBERT ANCHOR

THE ORIGINS OF CHEMISTRY. By *Robert P. Multhauf.* [Oldbourne History of Science Library.] (London: Oldbourne. 1966. Pp. 412. 70*s*.)

THIS serious and scholarly book is devoted to an examination of those aspects of human activity that bear on the development of chemistry before the eighteenth century. The author therefore examines industrial chemistry, medical chemistry, magical chemistry (alchemy), and natural philosophy in so far as each relates to concepts of matter during various periods: antiquity requires nearly one-third of the book, the Middle Ages covers both East and West, and the modern period presents a detailed consideration of late medieval and early Renaissance workers and a sketchy appraisal of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Dr. Multhauf, director of the Museum of History and Technology of the Smithsonian Institution, is best known among historians of science for his studies on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century chemistry, especially medical chemistry. His main concern here is with the antecedents to this interesting aspect of the growth of chemistry.

This is not a simple book. Multhauf is studiously thorough and impartial and has declined to commit himself to any possibly tendentious line of argument; he prefers to expose the facts rather than to use them as support for any thesis. He sees himself as following in the tradition of J. M. Stillman's *Story of Early Chemistry,* but Stillman's still-admirable work was more a narrative of chemical attitudes and accomplishments than this book, which devotes much attention to the authenticity and dating of sources and to the analysis of scholarly arguments on various points. It would seem that Multhauf instead follows the tradition of George Sarton and J. R. Partington, who obviously influenced him in many ways.

The two most interesting sections, at least for anyone who has not concentrated

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on the fields, are the section on alchemy in antiquity (Chapter VI) and that on Islamic alchemy (Chapter VII). The tenth chapter on medical chemistry from the tenth through the sixteenth century also contains many novel suggestions. The two weakest sections are those on ancient natural philosophy and on seventeenth-century natural philosophy in relation to the development of scientific chemistry. The first seems too elementary for the reader who is to follow the remainder of the work, and it is somewhat labored; the latter is weakest when dealing with such prominent figures as Boyle, Hooke, and Newton. As his bibliography suggests, this is partly because Multhauf has not always kept up with the more recent literature in an intensively cultivated field and partly because he has concentrated on such "chemical" chemists as the not very original textbook writer Lemery. It is a pity, for the book thus ends flatly with chemistry not really taking definite shape. Many rather careless errors—misspelling of names, discrepancies between bibliographic and index entries, minor errors of fact—are curiously at variance with the generally high standard of scholarship. Anyone interested in the potentialities and preoccupations of chemical thought between A.D. 300 and 1600 is, however, strongly advised to read this book.

Imperial College, London MARIE BOAS HALL

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN SURGERY. By *Frederick F. Cartwright.* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1967. Pp. x, 323. $6.95.)

THE author informs us in his preface that this book is intended primarily for the nonmedical reader, although he hopes physicians will not be deterred from using it. He states that he possesses "little French and no German" and that the references provided are taken from British or American journals. In one chapter he challenges the usual statistics on the mortality of those having amputations prior to the introduction of antisepsis and quotes "two books" that report series of such operations with a considerably lower death rate; yet neither author, title, nor other identification of these books is given, certainly a cardinal omission in a historical treatise.

The introductory chapter presents a confused and, in my opinion, a somewhat distorted picture of surgery prior to the introduction of anesthesia. The description of the education of the surgeon in England makes no mention of William Hunter and his schools and largely ignores the educational efforts of surgeons in the hospitals that ultimately became the earliest medical schools in London. Of John Hunter, he states, "He made no great advances or discoveries in surgery, but by correlating practice with comparative anatomy and physiological experiments, he placed surgery on a scientific basis." In this chapter there are many obvious errors that could so easily have been obviated. German-born Franz Anton Mesmer is referred to as "the Frenchman"; Pierre Franco, who was born in Provence, is called a Swiss; and Willy Meyer, the famous New York surgeon, is referred to as the "German Willi Meyer."

Chapters are devoted to anesthesia and to Lister, marking the two crucial contributions in the nineteenth century that made the development of modern medicine possible. The greater part of the book is taken up with the growth of the individual fields of surgery following the Listerian era. They consist of a

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multitude of references to individual physicians, often obscure and unknown, who have pioneered in various operative procedures, or in the development of diagnostic or therapeutic instruments. This "worm's eye view," focusing on minute contributions by endless numbers of persons, fails to create the picture as a whole. The minutiae and their sources can be of no possible interest to the lay reader or to the historian. The principal criticism of this book is, however, that it is dull. The romance and excitement of the development of modern surgery during the past century are lost entirely. The story is told much better by others.

Chicago Medical School LEO M. ZIMMERMAN

MAJOR PEACE TREATIES OF MODERN HISTORY, 1648–1967. In four volumes. Editor, *Fred L. Israel.* Commentaries by *Emanuel Chill.* With an introductory essay by *Arnold Toynbee.* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers in association with McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York. 1967. Pp. xxix, 717; 719–1533; 1535–2276; 2277–2880. $110.00 the set.)

To begin a favorable review of a welcome and useful work on a critical note seems warranted when there is a discrepancy between title and content. The fact is that these volumes are certainly something more, and occasionally something less, than a collection of the "major peace treaties" since 1648. When one encounters, for example, the Perry treaty of 1854, the Treaty of Washington (1871), the Act of Berlin (1885), and the Algeciras Convention, he discovers that this collection offers much to the student of diplomatic history in addition to what are narrowly defined as peace treaties. On the other hand, such treaties as those of Fort Armstrong, Fort Sully, and the Little Arkansas are hardly major treaties; at least they are not more major than the absent Convention of Alexandria (1840) or the Treaty of Dorpat, and they are decidedly less significant than the omitted Treaty of Nystad (1721) and Act of London (1954). But with this caveat one moves to the unquestioned merits of this set of documents.

In four volumes the editor has assembled the complete texts, in English, of 101 treaties, beginning with Westphalia and concluding with the Tashkent Declaration of 1966. No fewer than seventeen, translated from Latin and French, appear for the first time in English. The work is organized into ten chronological-topical groupings, each introduced by a commentary that affords a conventional historical background for the individual selections. Other features, however, will be considerably more interesting for specialists, and this is essentially a specialist's reference work. The cross-referenced index is excellent; the forty colored maps, reproduced from Shepherd's *Historical Atlas,* are a great convenience; and the generous spacing and comfortably large print are a boon worthy of emulation by other publishers.

Few readers are likely to peruse such a work from start to finish, but to do so is to find that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. One is impressed by the fact that the Treaty of Westphalia fills less than fifty pages; that of Vienna, less than one hundred; those of 1919 occupy more than a thousand; and the post-World War II settlement, fragmentary though it is, is relatively even more extensive. This says something about the changing style of diplomacy and the growing complexity of international relations. Only semifacetious is notation

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of the apparent inverse correlation between the length of many of these peace treaties and the length of the warless periods they inaugurated. There may well be grist for the computers in this collection. It is left to Arnold Toynbee's introductory essay, however, to point to this documentary array as proof of the dangerously anarchic political state of affairs in which man now lives.

Because this is a work to which modern European diplomatic historians will want access and in which American historians will discover much that is helpful, they are indebted to its editor and publisher.

Pennsylvania State University KENT FORSTER

L'ALLEMAGNE ET LE MAROC DE 1870 À 1905. By *Pierre Guillen.* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. ix, 991. 60 fr.)

MANY pages would be needed to do full justice to this detailed, thorough, objective, and at times fascinating study of the background of the century's first serious diplomatic crisis in Morocco. It is the author's thesis that Germany's interest, which began under Bismarck, was the political goal of seeking some check on France in case of war. The work is based on an unusually large mass of source materials, published and unpublished, and these materials come from the countries chiefly concerned, except for Morocco, whose archives were inaccessible. While the motivation of the German government was primarily political for the period covered, the author devotes much space to an account of German commercial, industrial, shipping, and banking interests in Morocco, with numerous charts and statistical tables to indicate growth and change. From virtually none in 1870, German interests just about equaled those of France by 1904, and they were surpassed only by England's. The author shows what geographic regions of Germany had interests in Morocco and describes at length the methods whereby Germany expanded its trade there and elsewhere. Despite their importance, these industrial and commercial interests did not determine policy; the government did that. It is clear that German opinion was seriously divided on such issues as the establishment of a German colony or naval base on Morocco's Atlantic coast. Despite much attention to detail, this study keeps the reader aware at all times of the general perspectives and significance of the policies being followed.

In his treatment of the actual crisis of 1904–1905, when the Germans saw that France had disregarded their interests in Morocco and was seeking to monopolize the area's economy, Professor Guillen gives a world-wide setting for the affair. Involved directly or indirectly were Japan, Russia, Turkey, Belgium, Italy, the United States, France, Germany, Spain, Britain, and Morocco. The landing of the German Kaiser at Tangier is described at length, from the earliest talk of warning France down to the futile conclusion of that effort. Despite the dissatisfaction of many people other than Germans with what the French were doing and despite the mistakes of French ministers, Germany still found it impossible to mobilize hostile opinion successfully against France's assumption of control in Morocco.

Yale University HARRY R. RUDIN

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THE UNITED STATES AND SWITZERLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Heinz K. Meier.* [Studies in American History, Number 1.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1963. Pp. 208.)

PROFESSOR Meier's work provides a careful and wide-ranging study of nineteenth-century diplomatic, consular, and commercial relations between the United States and Switzerland. The many issues that arose between the two countries of unmatched size but of similar political structure and ideological orientation are analyzed with care and fairness. The study is divided into nine chapters and follows initially a chronological, later a topical, order. After a brief description of earliest contacts between the United States and Switzerland, the author analyzes events leading to the "Convention of Friendship, Commerce, and Extradition of 1850." He then describes the impressive diplomatic record of Theodore S. Fay, first United States minister to Switzerland, and the varied Swiss attitudes toward the American Civil War. Next the author discusses American diplomatic representation in Switzerland from 1865 to 1900 and gives a brief portrait of nineteenth-century Swiss emigration to the United States and of growing Swiss representation there. The last two topics deal with new agreements reached or attempted in the late nineteenth century and with the changing pattern of American consular representation in Switzerland.

Meier concludes that nineteenth-century official Swiss-American relations were characterized by more than usual friendship and by substantial success. The reaching of agreements rarely proved easy, however; such agreements emerged after much compromise and prolonged negotiations. The generally undisturbed cordiality between the two countries is explained as being the result of "mutual admiration and feelings of moral kinship." The United States considered Switzerland as the "one European state in which republicanism was properly understood and properly practiced," whereas the Swiss saw the United States as a modified, large-scale version of the Swiss political model.

The work's major merit is the fairness with which matters such as extradition cases, Swiss anti-Semitism, and the emigration of undesirables are discussed. A balanced critical attitude pervades the book. The major shortcoming is possibly its somewhat diffuse organization and the absence of a well-defined analytical framework in some chapters. This does not, however, seriously impair the value of this pioneering effort, which is the result of solid research. It should interest not only the diplomatic historian but also the student of immigrant history and, last but not least, diplomats serving the two countries.

Rutgers University, Newark LEO SCHELBERT

ISTORIIA VTOROGO INTERNATSIONALA [History of the Second International]. Volume II. Edited by *L. I. Zubok et al.* [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii. Biblioteka Vsemirnoi Istorii.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1966. Pp. 595.)

THE title of this volume is somewhat misleading; its focus is not so much the Second International as the world labor movement from 1900 to 1917. Over twenty scholars have contributed selections that present a history of labor in

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the major countries as well as thumbnail sketches of the early history of working-class organizations in such less important countries as Finland, Norway, New Zealand, and Australia. Individual chapters are devoted to each of the congresses of the Second International, and the editor tries to fit all this material into the general history of the period. The scope is so broad and the writing is often so condensed that many sections read more like portions of an encyclopedia than of a work of history. The aim has been to synthesize, not to advance new findings.

The work is the most ambitious on the International to appear in Russia since the shift in interpretation of pre-1917 socialism that was first set forth in 1954. During the Stalinist era the entire socialist movement, with the exception of Lenin's followers, was written off as a reactionary force. Though the contributors to the present volume still criticize the leadership of the International for insufficient revolutionary zeal, they nevertheless acknowledge that in all countries there existed sizable non-Bolshevik groups that were "genuinely" radical. In fact, nearly every chapter emphasizes the struggle between the "revolutionary Marxists" and the "opportunists," the representatives of the growing "labor aristocracy," who allegedly benefited from the rise of imperialism.

Although the authors have been careful to adhere, at least formally, to the canons of scholarship by frequently citing sources, including a fair sprinkling of Western writings, the contributions can hardly be considered balanced and judicious. For one thing, on matters of interpretation Lenin is usually invoked as the ultimate authority, and he is quoted interminably throughout the volume. It is conceded that he once made a mistake by insisting on a boycott of the elections to the First Duma in 1906, but the reader is assured that the damage was negligible and that Lenin quickly rectified this "small mistake" by reversing his position. So much of the writing is polemical and censorious, moreover, that often theoretical arguments and supposed factual accounts of events are distorted. The volume should be read with caution.

Brooklyn College ABRAHAM ASCHER

LA DEUXIÈME INTERNATIONALE ET L'ORIENT. Under the direction of *Georges Haupt* and *Madeleine Reberioux*. (Paris: Éditions Cujas. 1967. Pp. 493.)

DIVISION of colonial spoils among the Great Powers before World War I confronted European socialists with a host of frustrating dilemmas. Haupt and Reberioux, who have already made significant contributions to the literature of socialism before 1914, have examined these dilemmas in this excellent collection of eighteen studies by both Western and non-Western scholars. The essays skillfully probe the crisis of conscience over the colonial issue within the Second International, the cleavages between Marxists and revisionists within its national parties, and its relationship to emerging revolutionary movements in the colonial world.

The work is divided into three interrelated sections. Part I covers the broad spectrum of colonial ideas and attitudes within the International, particularly as mirrored in debates and resolutions at the Congresses of Paris (1900), Amsterdam (1904), and Stuttgart (1907). Part II explores in greater depth the conflict

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of opinion within the major socialist parties over the colonial policies of their respective governments. An analysis of the views of such major socialist figures as Bernstein, Kautsky, Luxemburg, David, Schippel, Jaurès, Kol, Hyndman, and Vandervelde is especially good, providing far greater detail than previous works on the International by such scholars as G.D.H. Cole, Julius Braunthal, Patricia van der Esch, and James Joll. Part III, which complements other recent works in this area, focuses on the development of socialism in Japan, China, Indonesia, India, the Philippines, and the Muslim world. The primary theme that ties these sections together is the clash of a traditional anticolonial dogma with a growing conviction that only a positive "socialist" policy could prevent capitalist exploitation overseas, alleviate international tension, and bring the benefits of European civilization to the ignorant and oppressed.

Contributors to this comprehensive study have drawn from a variety of sources, including the archives of the International Socialist Bureau, the socialist press, party congresses, personal correspondence, and contemporary writings. Many selections have included valuable primary documents. There is a good index, and, while footnotes are rich in both primary and secondary sources, a selective bibliography at the end would have been useful.

University of Delaware JACK D. ELLIS

DEKOLONISATION: DIE DISKUSSION ÜBER VERWALTUNG UND ZUKUNFT DER KOLONIEN 1919–1960. By *Rudolf von Albertini.* [Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, Number 1.] (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1966. Pp. 607. DM 59.)

As the First World War drew to a close and the far-flung possessions of the German and Ottoman Empires awaited division among the victorious Allies, it seemed as though European colonial imperialism were about to enter a new phase of consolidation and expansion. Colonialism was, however, already in decline. With the ideological transformation of the war into a crusade for national self-determination, the surviving colonial powers found that although they might control more territory than ever before, their grasp on it was being gravely weakened by rising nationalism and anticolonialism.

In a major work dedicated to Hajo Holborn, the Heidelberg historian Rudolf von Albertini has analyzed the responses of the colonial powers, particularly Britain and France, to the challenge of decolonization. He is not concerned primarily with colonial or Afro-Asian history as such, but rather with the European discussion, from 1919 to 1960, of the administration and future of the colonies. He begins with a forty-page definition of the problem in its international context, continues with two meticulously documented monographs of over two hundred pages each on British and French colonial policy, and concludes with four illuminating essays on America in the Philippines, the Dutch in Indonesia, the Belgians in the Congo, and the Portuguese in their African colonies.

Of particular interest is Albertini's carefully developed comparison between the English and French conceptions of decolonization. Although both affirmed the necessity of liberating the colonies, their approaches differed radically. The British were ultimately prepared, however reluctantly, to recognize the colonial

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peoples' distinct national aspirations and to grant them not only autonomy but even sovereignty. Although a tenuous bond of association through membership in the multinational and multiracial Commonwealth was encouraged, even this was not compulsory. The French sought not to liquidate their great colonial empire, but rather to bring it to its alleged historical consummation by integrating the overseas possessions into a "Greater France" in which former subjects would become French citizens enjoying parliamentary representation in Paris. The integration of several older colonies, such as the Antilles and Guiana, was relatively successful, but categorical denial of non-French national aspirations led to armed rebellion in Indochina and Algeria. The Algerian crisis destroyed the Fourth Republic. The final cost of the struggle in Indochina, where Ho Chi Minh's republic of Vietnam was formally recognized by the French on March 6, 1946, remains to be seen.

Southern Illinois University DONALD S. DETWILER

THE YEARS OF OPPORTUNITY: THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1920–1926. By *Byron Dexter*. (New York: Viking Press. 1967. Pp. xxiii, 264. $8.50.)

THIS book-length essay explains how the League of Nations failed to capitalize on its early "years of opportunity." The author, a former managing editor of *Foreign Affairs,* displays a ripe wisdom, but his work rests upon secondary material with a lacing of printed sources.

As historical perspective has lengthened, writers have been more charitably inclined toward the efforts of the 1919 peacemakers. Mr. Dexter accentuates this trend, arguing that the Versailles settlement was "fair and moderate," that its terms, including the much-maligned reparations stipulations are defensible, and that the League it established brought, for a season, the nearest thing to peace that our troubled world has known since Sarajevo.

The author does not feel that the defection of the United States did irreparable harm to this pioneer collective security organization. On the contrary, he emphasizes that the League enjoyed many advantages in its formative years that were later denied by circumstances to the United Nations. He traces the decline of the League to certain cardinal errors made at the time of Locarno in 1925, rather than to the collapse of global prosperity four years later. Geneva's deterioration, we are told, came because Whitehall decided to turn from an active role in European peacekeeping to become a mediator between Paris and Berlin. In addition, he stresses the failure at Locarno to guarantee the permanence of Germany's eastern boundaries.

This interpretation, central to the book, is open to question. Had Locarno protected the territorial integrity of the *Reich*'s eastern neighbors on paper, is there any reason to believe that Hitler would have paid any more attention to this warranty than he did to other parts of the 1925 agreement? Furthermore, the Great Depression rather than the Locarno Pact set off the chain reaction that lured the Japanese into their Manchurian gamble, set the stage for the Nazi accession in Germany, and eventually destroyed the League in the fires of a new war. Dexter would reply to this caveat that the Manchurian affair was peripheral to the main fortunes of the League because Geneva was Europe oriented and not

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prepared to counter a major thrust in the Far East. Collective security, he points out, worked in Europe so long as London and Paris were sufficiently agreed to underwrite the League's decisions.

The peace machinery designed at Versailles was capable of settling minor disputes between major powers and major quarrels between minor states. Whether any possible choice of policies on the part of leading European statesmen could have nursed the League to the point where it could handle serious rifts between the most important states is unknowable. To Dexter's credit, he has in this sprightly narrative kept such idle speculation to a minimum.

State University of New York, Buffalo SELIG ADLER

AMERICA, RUSSIA, AND THE COLD WAR, 1945–1966. By *Walter LaFeber.* [America in Crisis.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1967. Pp. xi, 295. Cloth $6.50, paper $2.95.)

THE first book-length, scholarly analysis of the cold war from a "revisionist" perspective since D. F. Fleming's two-volume study in 1961, this book defines most of the issues likely to provoke debate in the next decade as scholars re-examine postwar American foreign policy. The rise of the cold war, argues LaFeber, was neither surprising nor remarkable; rather, the rapid decay of US-Soviet relations in 1945, visible in the uneasy wartime relationship, was rooted in preceding decades of American hostility to the Bolshevik state. Though he seems ambivalent about whether different US actions might have allayed Stalin's fears of capitalist encirclement, LaFeber argues that American ideology and action were chiefly responsible for the cold war. The dominant concern of American policy makers, he contends, was the need to establish an international economic system that would provide expanding markets for American surpluses and contribute to international peace and prosperity.

There is ample evidence, both in the manuscript sources exploited by the author and in the *Department of State Bulletin,* of American efforts to reshape the world by imposing an "open door" beyond the United States' sphere of influence. American economic expansion, according to policy makers, required order and stability and entailed opposition to revolution, which was translated easily into anti-Communism. The United States, the author emphasizes, tried to use its overwhelming economic power to compel Russia to accept a multilateral economy and to open the satellites to American economic penetration. The cold war, he concludes, emerged directly from this conflict between the world-wide ambitions of American diplomacy and Stalin's determination to maintain control of Eastern Europe, which was vital to the Soviet economy and security. LaFeber denies that Russia was militantly expansionist in the postwar years and emphasizes Stalin's generally conservative policies, but he unfortunately never marshals enough of the available evidence to convince skeptical readers.

Perhaps because he focuses on the American "open door" ideology, he also overlooks the Roosevelt government's reluctant agreement in late 1944 and early 1945 to the division of Eastern Europe into spheres of influence. Rather than the Truman administration's struggling simply to roll back Communism in Eastern Europe, as LaFeber does argue, the government was in effect repudiating

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this earlier understanding. He concludes that after Hiroshima the administration increased its efforts and turned to the practice of atomic diplomacy.

Upon establishing to his satisfaction the significance of the "open door" ideology, LaFeber seldom relies directly upon this interpretation in his discussion of foreign policy beyond 1948. (Indeed, he later deftly explains in other terms the anti-Communism of the liberal community, focusing upon Reinhold Niebuhr.) Many scholars will find that they can accept much of the later analysis without endorsing the earlier interpretation. Yet his arguments are not carelessly sandwiched together, as some critics may claim. Rather, he seems to believe that the earlier concern about the "open door" so influenced the shape of postwar history and the perceptions of policy makers that their original reasons for opposition to Communism were often obscured, and the United States government was often compelled by its anti-Communism to depart from the very multilateralism that policy makers had sought to establish. It is unfortunate that LaFeber does not clearly explain this, but, undoubtedly, that was part of the price of compressing into ninety thousand words an analysis of twenty-two years of foreign policy.

The harsh limits of space, dictated by the general format of the series, also mean that many events are treated in fleeting fashion and that some important questions are overlooked. For example, how fluid was the situation in Eastern Europe between Hiroshima and the Truman Doctrine, and why did Russian policy harden in 1947? Was the American nuclear umbrella credible in 1947? How clearly did American policy makers in 1946 and 1947 understand the importance of the German question to Russia, and did they simply accede to Clay's decision to break the Potsdam Agreement on reparations? Did the missiles in Cuba really change the strategic balance, or did the administration actually respond to a threat to American credibility?

Despite these limitations and some unfortunate errors, this volume is a judicious and impressive reassessment of the cold war. By defining so many of the issues, by boldly acknowledging the general continuity of postwar foreign policy, by skillfully integrating domestic and foreign policy, and particularly by concentrating upon the perils to the nation of Presidents conducting foreign policy largely independent of effective congressional restraint, LaFeber has produced a volume of contemporary relevance and scholarly importance.

Stanford University BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

THE NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF/SECRETARIAT, 1952–1957: A STUDY IN INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION. By *Robert S. Jordan.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 307. $9.60.)

THIS is a detailed account and assessment of one selected aspect of international history during the middle years of the 1950's. It describes, using public records and interview materials, the problems confronted by the first Secretary-General of NATO, Lord Ismay, as he sought to build and administer a viable staff organization that, in turn, would render more effective the political and military instrument of the Atlantic community. The task was impossible since real authority lay with the member nations, but Lord Ismay did his best and left behind a record of administrative accomplishment that enhanced the organization's prestige and enabled it to function as well as could be expected.

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In other words, although this is not the central message that the author intended to convey, the main conclusion, to me, is negative: the historical significance of an international administrator is not and cannot be very great as long as the basic structure of the international system is founded on a dispersal of authority among sovereign states. He may be a distinguished, compelling, and dedicated individual, but the essential record of his years in office is compiled by other figures and shaped by forces beyond his control.

I was not aware, as a political scientist, that the null findings of historical investigation were publishable, and I am delighted to find that history is more up to date in this respect than my own discipline. The utility of null findings, however, is that they indicate subject matter that no longer needs prolonged investigation. Hence the prime lesson of this book would seem to be that the energy invested in probing the history of international administration can best be diverted to other aspects of the nation-state system.

Rutgers University JAMES N. ROSENAU

THE AMERICANS AND THE FRENCH. By *Crane Brinton*. [The American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. vii, 305. $6.75.)

PROFESSOR Brinton has written this short book about France in an easy, conversational style addressed to Americans who have little prior knowledge of the subject. He thus offers a survey, in turn, of French geography and national characteristics, French history especially during the last half century, and the momentous economic, psychological, and cultural transformations of recent decades. At his best in the portrayal of attitudes, he grants that the American popular conception of France has long been tinged with scorn, while conversely, in France, a certain dislike of the United States has been largely confined to intellectuals.

The book is designed to disabuse ordinary Americans of their errors, and the tone becomes at times somewhat defensive of the French. The author does not share, for example, the ideas of his colleague Stuart Hughes regarding the tendencies to isolation and provincialism within French intellectual circles. His preferred emphasis is on the active new men who are remaking the country. It is explained that General de Gaulle is not really a dictator and that many French ideas and policies that Americans find objectionable would be much the same if he were not in office. French withdrawal from NATO receives considerable attention, but surprisingly little is said of the effects on French opinion of the war in Vietnam or the problems raised by American investment in French industry. It is understandable that the gold and monetary crisis, having culminated since the book was written, should be scarcely mentioned. More attention to the most perplexing issues might have strengthened the argument of the book, which concludes that American prestige has been falling not only in France but in the world as a whole, and that if the Americans cannot get along with the French, as a basically well-disposed people, they will have difficulty in maintaining their position in the eyes of others.

Princeton University R. R. PALMER

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Ancient

SCIENCE AND THE STATE IN GREECE AND ROME. By *Thomas W. Africa.* (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1968. Pp. 128. $4.95.)

SCIENTISTS of antiquity, a minuscule coterie of specialists and dabblers, were regarded with awe by contemporaries. Our information about their lives is largely anecdotal. Some of the most renowned are commonly referred to as "Alexandrian" scientists, but evidence of their actual sojourns at Alexandria is lacking. This book is "not a history of science but a study of scientists." The author has appropriate misgivings about his undertaking, realizing that the creative scientists he discusses were writing science and not autobiography and that the tidbits of late biographers are of dubious value. To attempt to interpret the role of scientists in ancient society is to compound the risk, but the author sees profit as we may soon be living in a scientific temple state.

A brief volume is inadequate for such a bold venture. The author first examines the managerial societies of Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, China, and Central America. The dominant position of priest castes there, holding monopolies on learning, warrants comparisons. In the Hellenistic Age, too, we find recurring patterns of scientists currying the favor of princes and of princes collecting and supporting scientists for their prestige value. Elsewhere in the ancient world generalizations simply do not apply. The reader is bewildered by pell-mell series of observations made out of context, the justification being that they vaguely come under the heading of scientists in society. On some pages as many as ten random statements occur, each concluded by a footnote. One gets the feeling that he is reading an entertaining guide to the literature on the subject. Those great figures handled with any degree of continuity are treated unsympathetically because the focus is upon their role in society and possible implications for us: Aristotle, oriented in geographical determinism, is a racist; Ptolemy, oriented in astral and ethnic determinism, appears more an astrologer than an astronomer; Galen's medicine is vitiated by his surrender to divine intervention.

Despite these strictures I would recommend this book to serious readers. Professor Africa is an adept and assiduous collector of materials. If, in reading in this area, one has overlooked a journal article or classical reference, he is apt to find it here. The book is also marked by brilliant flashes of perception that are bound to invite us to further thinking. The author has, however, chosen a subject that calls for rigorous and disciplined scholarship, and I find little evidence of it here.

Brooklyn College WILLIAM H. STAHL

LECTURES IN MEMORY OF LOUISE TAFT SEMPLE. First Series, 1961–1965. By *Carl W. Blegen et al.* [University of Cincinnati Classical Studies, Volume I.] ([Princeton, N. J.:] Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1967. Pp. viii, 365. $10.00.)

THIS is a handsome tribute to Mrs. Semple, who, with her husband, encouraged classical studies at the University of Cincinnati, helping to make it one

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of the most important centers for studies in this field in the United States. Of the eight contributors to this volume, only Professor Blegen was a member of the faculty, and their participation is a recognition of the Semples' contribution to a wide variety of studies in our discipline.

This is not a *Festschrift* but a collection of double lectures delivered at the university between 1961 and 1965, revised and expanded from the oral text, and documented with footnotes. They combine the clarity and interest of the lecture with the sound learning of the monograph, and they are both good reading and up-to-date surveys of the areas covered.

With propriety, the series is opened by Blegen who reviews the Mycenaean period, arguing incidentally for a later dating of the Knossos tablets than that of Evans: it is hard to understand the close similarity of the Knossos and Pylos tablets if they were far distant in time. Blegen would date the destruction of Troy VIIa at about 1265, and of the mainland palaces at about the end of the same century. With equal propriety, the series is closed by a review of the Homeric problem by Professor Else, who suggests plausibly that the creation of Achaean refugee groups about 1100 led to the creation of a (for them) national epic in order to preserve the memory of their ancestors' exploits. He withholds judgment on the circumstances under which the poems were actually written.

In between, dealing with later matters, are two excellent articles on philosophy: Santillana's article on Parmenides is rather technical; W. K. C. Guthrie's approach to Plato is historical. On various epigraphical matters B. D. Meritt argues, rightly, I think, for the "genuineness" of the Troezen decree, and in an article on sculpture Bernard Ashmole gives an explanation of the impact of the Elgin marbles on English taste in classical art. Finally, representing the late period, H. T. Rowell gives a welcome and penetrating account of Ammianus Marcellinus, and Romilly Jenkins presents the interesting idea that Byzantium perpetuated Greek culture, with its ability to absorb and Hellenize alien peoples, notably the Slavs and Albanians who settled in Greece in the eighth and tenth centuries.

Yale University C. Bradford Welles

PROGRESS INTO THE PAST: THE REDISCOVERY OF MYCENAEAN CIVILIZATION. By *William A. McDonald*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1967. Pp. xx, 476. $9.95.)

Now begins a period in which books celebrating centennials of great events in the growth of Aegean archaeology may come out, and this is an auspicious first example. The hundredth year since Schliemann first visited Greece and excavated at his first Homeric site was 1967. Between Troy (1970) and Knossos (2000), many other sites need celebration in their turn, and the work of other giants than Schliemann, Evans, and Blegen may soon be reviewed in the spirit in which McDonald has treated these pioneers. Schliemann and Evans have often been described in the romantic vein of their extraordinary characters, their incredible luck, and the novelty of their explorations. This is a rather critical examination of their work and a balanced estimate of their contributions to our knowledge. Better yet, the account of Blegen's accomplishments will give a taste

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of the romance that belongs to the third generation as well as to the first, and it will show how worthily the legacy of Schliemann has been handed on.

In the narrative of a hundred years of increasingly intensive scientific inquiry a severe selection of facts and persons is inevitable, and the reader is frequently reminded that significant materials have been omitted. What is both essential and capable of notice in 350 pages seems to be well told and well judged here. The last chapter, describing the thorniest current problems in Aegean archaeology and prehistory, is more difficult to read, as it may well have been to write. It seems necessary as a continuation of the narrative and as a standard of present opinion by which to measure the errors of the past. But since it is naturally expository and forensic, rather than narrative and judicial like the body of the book, it may be left by many readers as an untouched postscript.

The great value of this history for the student and expositor of Aegean archaeology, aside from inspiration, is the reminder that the records of the excavators and the writings of their interpreters need to be read with constant reference to what was the contemporary state of the science and its terminology. In a science where up-to-date, exhaustive surveys of all that is known are rarely produced, and where, even with such surveys, the reports of the first scientists must often be re-examined, it is most satisfying that an incentive to the study of, and some guide to, the history of that science is available.

University of Wisconsin EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR.

DIE TYRANNIS BEI DEN GRIECHEN. Volume I, DARSTELLUNG; Volume II, ANMERKUNGEN. By *Helmut Berve*. (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1967. Pp. xii, 509; xii, 518–796. DM 85 the set.)

FROM the picturesque tyrants of early Greece, like the Cypselids of Corinth, to the *condottieri* of the Hellenistic period, tyranny was an almost continuous phenomenon in Greek history. Only in the fifth century B.C., when the political influence of those great powers, Athens and Sparta, effectively opposed tyranny, was there a break in the sequence. During that time the Athenian tragedians, in particular, drew the familiar picture of the tyrant: an absolute ruler who came to power by illegal, violent means, ruled harshly, and ultimately destroyed his state. In the fourth century and the Hellenistic period philosophers contrasted the evil tyrant with the good and wise king who was concerned for the welfare of his subjects. As the tyrant became a type, the significance of his role in Greek history declined. Early tyrants were striking examples of the individualism of their period and furthered the evolution of their states. Later tyrants were incidental by-products of social strife and war, often the tools of foreign powers. The word "tyrant" became a term of political abuse, applied to Macedonian kings and Roman dynasts.

Berve has written a systematic, thorough treatment of Greek tyranny from the seventh century B.C. to the establishment of Roman rule in the east by Augustus. Within each major epoch of Greek history he has organized his material by the regional divisions of the Greek world, from the Aegean motherland to the colonies and, after Alexander, to the Hellenistic kingdoms. Thus the reader may study individual tyrannies, compare their regional variations, and

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trace throughout Greek history the changing character of tyranny and of views concerning it. The notes of the second volume contain extensive documentation from primary sources and scholarly interpretations, genealogical tables, and indexes. Berve's critical comment is necessarily succinct, in the form of judgments rather than elaborated discussion. His interpretation and the virtually complete treatment and documentation make the study a very useful handbook for the Greek historian.

The sections on the Greek historiography of tyranny, the clear writing, and the organization make it of general interest. Berve finds the essential difference between Greek tyranny and modern dictatorship in the totalitarian character of the latter. Greek tyranny was an assertion of a personal, individual power, and the tyrant was essentially antagonistic to the communal character and organization of the city-state. Presumably Greek individualism continuously produced tyrants, but the Greek community just as continuously rejected them. The reader may regret the sacrifice of more extensive discussion of some general problems to the desire for all-inclusiveness. For example, in discussing the rise of early tyrants Berve emphasizes the tyrant's use of his individual following (his *hetairia*) rather than his connection with the emergence of a class structure in the city-state. For Ionia the latter is virtually denied, and for Sicily the tyrant's aristocratic connections seem to be overemphasized. But the book is the first general treatment of Greek tyranny since that of Plass in the mid-nineteenth century.

Northwestern University CARL ROEBUCK

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY. By *Ludwig Edelstein*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1967. Pp. xxxiii, 211. $8.00.)

THIS volume is a torso, and a splendid one. When Ludwig Edelstein died in August 1965, he had completed approximately half of a projected work on "The Idea of Progress in Antiquity." Through the wisdom of Professor Cherniss and the Johns Hopkins Press the introduction and four chapters that Edelstein left behind have now been published. The book, admirably produced, constitutes a coherent and self-contained study of its theme down to 30 B.C. Documentation is relevant and full, and one regrets that there is nothing comparable to cover the period of the unwritten chapters (to the sixth century A.D.).

It is odd that until 1920 most writers on antiquity, apart from Auguste Comte and a few others such as Mill and Dilthey, were confident that the ancients had a concept of progress involving a constant expectation of better things to come. However, with the publication of Bury's *The Idea of Progress,* all this changed, and a dogma of the opposite kind arose. The notion that an idea of progress is alien to ancient thought reigns supreme in the writings and teachings of most contemporary dealers in large concepts. By precise and relentless analysis Edelstein has annihilated the present fashionable view. He begins with the famous fragment of Xenophanes (number eighteen in Diels-Kranz): "The gods did not reveal to men all things from the beginning, but men through their own search find in the course of time that which is better." Edelstein then conducts his readers with masterly commentary through the *querelles des anciens et des modernes* in both the fifth and fourth centuries. His exposition of

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the Hellenistic Age includes an examination of the compatibility of the concept of progress with doctrines of Stoicism.

In controverting a popular, and often untested, view, Edelstein provides fresh assessments of many details: His discussion of the Greek words *epidosis* and *prokopē* answers the objection that the Greeks had no word for progress. His treatment of cyclic theories in Thucydides and elsewhere shows how they have been carelessly misinterpreted by observers of "linear" movements. His appreciation of the achievements of the fourth century shows that he has not been blinded by the fifth. Edelstein's work is a major contribution to the intellectual history of antiquity.

Harvard University G. W. Bowersock

THE LAW CODE OF GORTYN. Edited with introduction, translation and a commentary by *Ronald F. Willetts*. [Kadmos, Supplement I.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1967. Pp. viii, 90, 13 plates. DM 128.)

Ronald Willetts is known for several books on ancient Cretan society and social institutions. In *The Law Code of Gortyn* he has published in elaborate detail and sumptuous form one of the most important documents for their study. The code, issued in the fifth century B.C., is a lengthy inscription in the difficult Cretan dialect, which tabulates the statutory laws of Gortyn on property and family rights. While the document was used extensively by scholars in the years following its first complete publication in the 1880's, it has been somewhat neglected since. Thus Willetts' thorough treatment may serve to reintroduce the material for more general use. Much of the book is necessarily for specialists: Willetts publishes a revised Greek text with critical apparatus, excellent photographs, and a facsimile of the twelve columns (about six hundred lines) of the inscription. He has made a careful translation and added a detailed commentary with considerable discussion of problems of interpretation. There are three indexes and a full bibliography. The introduction discusses the subject matter of the code in its historical context, with sections on the Cretan social system, on property, marriage, kinship, and the family, and on the administration of justice.

The Gortyn Code was conservative in character, as one might expect in Dorian Crete, akin to that of other Greek states of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Willetts considers that its original promulgation reflected the beginnings of change for the traditional aristocratic society under the pressures of a monetary economy. Coinage had been introduced into Gortyn about a generation before the code was issued, thus forcing the people to order their social life both to preserve older practice and to accommodate change. For example, provisions about marriage indicate that women were still regarded as tribal kinfolk; other provisions state that serfs might inherit the patriarchal farm in default of heirs in the kinship line. Yet chattel slavery was known in Gortyn, and fines were payable in money. The large sums stated and the right of serfs to hold money seem to indicate, rather surprisingly, that its circulation was extensive. As Willetts notes, interpretation of many points remains debatable, but the introduction is a useful preface to the study of urbanization in Crete.

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The book is the first supplement volume in a new series published by the periodical, *Kadmos,* for pre- and early Greek epigraphy. It is extrafolio size, beautifully printed and edited, and extremely expensive.

Northwestern University CARL ROEBUCK

FORM AND THOUGHT IN HERODOTUS. By *Henry R. Immerwahr.* [Philological Monographs, Number 23.] (Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University for the American Philological Association. 1966. Pp. xv, 374. $7.50.)

IMMERWAHR offers students of historiography the most enlightening study of Herodotus in recent years, despite the fact that much in his book is controversial. The author has undertaken two difficult tasks: first, determining what principles of organization were followed by Herodotus in writing his history, and, second, discerning what ordering forces Herodotus observed operating in history. In answer to these questions, Immerwahr analyzes Herodotus' paratactic style with the understanding that "it is a basic feature of early prose that the principles underlying larger units of composition are equally applicable to smaller entities down to a short phrase. . . ." An exhaustive discussion of the artistic character of the numerous *logoi* follows, in which Immerwahr points out various thought patterns used by Herodotus as bases of organization—change of fortune being the most important. Change (*metabolē*), says Immerwahr, is also seen by Herodotus as an ordering principle in history itself. For Herodotus, history is a sequence of action and reaction: "The result of such counteraction is a balance of world forces achieved through *metabolē,* thus assuring the continuity and indeed the permanence of history." According to Immerwahr, in the world of Herodotus as a whole there is order, but order based on a balance between unity and diversity. In concrete terms, the Persian Empire symbolizes unity, the states of Greece, diversity; the Persian Wars represent a redress of the imbalance between these two forces occasioned by the overexpansion of the unifying Persian Empire.

In a book containing so much valuable insight, I find only one area for serious disagreement. Immerwahr's introduction takes issue with the "genetic approach" to Herodotean criticism, sweeping aside the arguments of such scholars as F. Jacoby and J. E. Powell that have convinced many students that Herodotus began writing his Eastern *logoi* before he conceived the grander theme of East versus West. Instead, Immerwahr maintains that the work was conceived as a unity, but that "individual parts of the work must have undergone a long process of revision in oral delivery." From Immerwahr's lengthy analysis, however, no strong argument emerges for this notion of unitary conception and oral revision. The absence of forward references in Books I–IV to Books V–IX, in the face of at least eight back references from the latter books to the former, will still seem to many students convincing proof that Books V–IX were not planned at the time when the Eastern *logoi* were written.

University of California, San Diego ROGER A. DE LAIX

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THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION AFTER SULLA. By *Daniel J. Geagan.* [Hesperia: Supplement XII.] (Princeton, N. J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens. 1967. Pp. xiii, 231, 8 plates. $10.00.)

THERE was no written constitution in Roman Athens; nor was there one earlier. Aristotle, in his *Constitution of the Athenians,* recorded what he saw. Now, students must look to him not only for the structure of the constitution in his day but also for that of later Athens. The old names persisted in Roman times—council of the Areopagus, ecclesia, boule, and so forth—but functions and responsibilities changed. The changes that took place during the three hundred years or so after Sulla are observed principally in archival material inscribed in stone, and it is this extensive, if often fragmentary and intractable, body of evidence to which Professor Geagan addresses himself. As a result, he catalogues, summarizes, and describes inscriptions to a greater extent than he analyzes the constitution.

His method is to cite an officer or board and then to discuss, often in considerable detail, the sorts of evidence that can be used and the difficulties this use entails. Mostly the evidence consists of decrees, dedications, imperial rescripts, and other such documents, but from time to time the satirist Lucian inadvertently helps. Chapters are titled, to name just a few, "The Archons," "The Hoplite General," "The Areopagus," "The Boule and the Demos," and "Committees, Officers, and Servants of the Council." At the end of each chapter a brief conclusion enumerates what tendencies and changes in the constitution can be hypothesized. Of five appendixes, one is a useful catalogue of formulas with which various civic bodies registered approval of dedications; four are technical studies of particular inscriptions. In Appendix IV, for instance, new fragments are added to an inscription recording "Five Letters from the Emperor Commodus concerning the Gerousia of the Athenians." Study of this interesting document continues in J. H. Oliver's article in *Hesperia,* XXXVI (1967), 329–35.

Some of the best historians have published studies of the Athenian constitution in Roman times; a few have attempted to comprehend the whole; more have examined single documents or homogeneous groupings of documents. The present book, however, was needed, for American excavators in the Athenian agora have unearthed many new, relevant inscriptions that, to be of increased usefulness, had to be incorporated in a comprehensive study, along with an assessment of the stimulating, often fundamental contributions of scholars who have studied or published individual texts. The decree honoring Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos is a good example. Geagan also adds constructive analysis. To note a single instance, a catalogue of names from the Eleusinion at Athens (Appendix III) permits sensible speculation on the size and composition of the Areopagus on page fifty-seven. A sufficient number of similar instances add substantially to the value of a book that would have been welcome had it been no more than a mere compilation.

Brown University ALAN L. BOEGEHOLD

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THE CALENDAR OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. By *Agnes Kirsopp Michels.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 227. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR Michels has written a book that is extremely useful and surprisingly easy to read. Study of ancient calendars necessarily involves both technical terms and technical knowledge; it has also given rise to complicated and conflicting theories based on the slight and often ambiguous existing evidence. Michels, assuming no prior knowledge in her reader, moves step by step from the general problem of making calendars to the specific solution adopted by the Romans and a description of exactly how the late republican calendar worked, what was the meaning of its signs and terminology, and what problems it still presents for modern scholars.

The first section of the book is a detailed description of the pre-Julian calendar; the second, shorter section is an attempt to reconstruct its history; four appendixes treat in detail the thorny problems of "Roman Intercalation," "The Characters of the Days," "*Nundinae* and *Trinum Nundinum,*" and "The Dating of the Calendar." Certain modern theories hardly noted in the main body of the book are treated here. In a work filled with eminently usable information perhaps the best feature of all is a pull-out sheet giving a schematic republican calendar and a reconstruction, in color, of a painted republican calendar based on the *Fasti Antiates maiores.* Together with photographs of two actual *Fasti,* they facilitate understanding of the discussion at every point. The only disappointment is the spare index, which ought to be supplemented in a later edition by an index of ancient passages and, in the absence of a bibliography, of modern authorities cited.

The book brings together the results of independent research beginning some twenty years ago, but makes full use of Degrassi's superb recent publications. By limiting the scope of her inquiry to the republican era and by a determined effort to "make as economical use as possible of the available evidence," Michels has produced a work that seems tidy but not superficial. Full of sensible remarks, as on the importance of the calendar for historians, on the *Lex Pupia,* and on the *Lex Acilia,* it will serve both as a reference handbook and as a mine of informative discussion for historians, philologists, and students of religion.

Harvard University ZEPH STEWART

DIE ANTIKE KULTUR UND DAS CHRISTENTUM. By *Olof Gigon.* ([Gütersloh:] Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn. 1966. Pp. 181. DM 19.80.)

PROFESSOR Gigon's work is a welcome addition to the rather limited number of books dealing adequately with the complex intellectual issues, rather than the historical events, of the meeting of classical civilization and Christianity. An important premise underlying this book, stated in the introductory chapter and repeated elsewhere, is that history is not made by the common people but by influential minorities. Correspondingly, Gigon deems it historically significant that Christianity, rather than limiting its appeal to the common people, addressed itself to, and eventually won over, the educated elite.

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Chapters II–VI give a general description of ancient civilization as Christianity encountered it, and particularly of those aspects that directly concerned Christianity. Gigon's account of ancient philosophy examines especially how the major schools related to each other and which doctrines, like Platonic teleology, were compatible with Christian teachings and which, like Platonic transmigration of souls, were not. In the general area of literature and science, Gigon says, Christianity's most urgent, reluctantly assumed, and never completed task was the development of a Christian interpretation of history. In his discussion of Greco-Roman religion, Gigon distinguishes, on social as well as intellectual grounds, between the religion of the common people and that of the educated. Christianity, almost from the beginning, largely ignored the former and chose to confront the latter; here Christian loyalty to the Empire was the most important issue. The mystery religions found most of their adherents among the common people, according to Gigon, but a certain kinship between them and Christianity made it necessary for the Christians to state the distinctions clearly.

In Chapter VII Gigon carefully reconstructs the three most serious intellectual attacks upon Christianity: those of Celsus, Porphyry, and Emperor Julian in the second, third, and fourth centuries, respectively. All three, it is important to note, were Platonists. In Chapter VIII the *De Civitate Dei* of St. Augustine is assessed as the final Christian answer and the last monumental confrontation; it, too, addresses itself particularly to the educated and marks the acceptance of the classical heritage by Christianity.

The last and longest chapter is a systematic study of the problem, as distinguished from the historical study of the preceding two chapters, under the three headings of the historical event: Christ's life, Christian theology, and the Christian organization of communal and private life.

This is an excellent book, well worth the attention of ancient, medieval, and ecclesiastical historians, classicists, philosophers, and theologians.

State University of New York, Albany HANS A. POHLSANDER

BYZANTIUM AND THE ROMAN PRIMACY. By *Francis Dvornik*. (New York: Fordham University Press. 1966. Pp. 176. $5.00.)

WITH admirable clarity, schematic argumentation, and a wealth of source material, Professor Dvornik of Dumbarton Oaks has attempted, for the first time in English, a synthetic presentation of the development of Roman claims to primacy as seen from Byzantium. The analysis, extending from the fourth to the early thirteenth century, begins by tracing the development of two dominant themes that underlie the problem: first, the principle of accommodation—the adaptation of the ecclesiastical organization to the political division of the Roman Empire (a theory favored from the start in Byzantium); and, second, the principle of apostolicity—the foundation of a see by an apostle (first developed as a full-blown theory in Rome, a city displaced by Constantinople as the imperial capital).

Showing the complex interplay of these two themes, their opposition and sometimes their coexistence, Dvornik skillfully demonstrates that they are opera-

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tive in most ecclesiastical conflicts between East and West up to 1204, from the Council of Chalcedon on as revealed in events involving Acacius, Photius, Cerularius, and others. Dvornik maintains (contrary to Syropolous, writing on the Council of Florence) that Byzantine prelates never denied that Peter was the prince of the Apostles. Dvornik believes that canon twenty-eight of Chalcedon was not an attempt to deny primacy to Rome. This canon was not introduced into the Byzantine canonistic collections until the sixth century since, as is not usually realized, apostolicity was not of immediate importance as a criterion for ecclesiastical rank; unlike the West, the East possessed many apostolically founded sees. The theory of apostolicity later developed in Byzantium, however, was based not only on what Byzantines believed to be the work of the apostle Andrew, which Dvornik feels was legendary, but also on Constantinople's inheritance of the claims of Ephesus, itself founded by the apostle John. According to Dvornik, the theory of the pentarchy, so important to modern Greeks, developed in response to the Roman defense of apostolicity. The author regards it as an exaggeration that the pentarchic idea is "very dangerous for Roman primacy." Though Orthodox theologians find in the pentarchy an essential equality of all five patriarchs, Dvornik has been able to marshal evidence that certain Byzantines seemed to accept papal primacy throughout the medieval period. The question, he agrees, is very complex and involves not simply a primacy of honor but also one of jurisdiction, including the right of appeal to Rome in disciplinary and other matters. Byzantine documents referring to papal primacy must therefore be analyzed carefully to determine in each case exactly the kind of primacy involved.

What changed prevailingly irenic ecclesiastical relations up to the eleventh century, according to Dvornik, was not the date 1054 but rather the developing claims of the Gregorian, German-influenced reform movement, which finally destroyed "Christian Hellenism" in the West and created a new ideology unknown to Byzantium: the superiority of *sacerdotium* to *imperium*. Byzantium did not fully comprehend this new ideology until after the Latin conquest of 1204. Henceforth, and especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Greeks usually denied the primacy of Peter not on older grounds, but, based in part on "nationalism," on the ground that the Filioque addition to the creed made the pope a heretic and thus invalidated his claims to primacy.

One regrets that Dvornik did not carry his profound analysis, with its many insights, beyond 1204 to 1453. Modern Greek views of Roman primacy are deeply influenced by the negative (apophatic) theology of these last two centuries, which was developed to combat aggressive Latin and papal claims. The book is absolutely indispensable reading for all church historians and "ecclesiologically minded" ecumenicists of both East and West, who, despite differences of opinion, should be grateful for this brilliant and conciliatory attempt to reconstruct the medieval history of the thorniest problem impeding a truly satisfactory rapprochement between Eastern and Western churches.

Yale University DENO J. GEANAKOPLOS

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AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Peter Brown.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 463. $10.00.)

THERE is a vast modern literature on Augustine ranging from pietistic and fictionalized biographies to technical articles on every detail of his thought. But hitherto there has been no adequate work of synthesis, no up-to-date scholarly account of Augustine's life available in English. (Van der Meer's well-known *Augustine the Bishop* is analytical and descriptive rather than biographical in its approach.) Peter Brown has chosen to write a sort of old-fashioned "life and times." It is exactly what was needed, and both the "life" and the "times" are splendidly handled in his book. The author's studies in late Roman institutions enable him to describe the background of fifth-century Italy and Africa in a vivid and convincing fashion. He brings sensitivity and discernment to the difficult task of delineating Augustine's complex personality. He is abreast of all the current literature, and he neither despises nor overstresses the insights of modern psychology.

There is not much technical philosophy or technical ecclesiology in this account, but the central concepts of Augustinian theology are set out with clarity and force. Augustine's thought is presented in relation to the growing and changing personality of the man himself as it developed in the course of the various struggles in which he was involved: first, a struggle with himself, then with the Manichees, the Donatists, and the Pelagians. The author gives a particularly good account of the Donatist schism and offers an analysis differing sharply from that of W. H. C. Frend. Altogether this is an excellent book, and it should be made available in a cheaper edition.

Cornell University BRIAN TIERNEY

Medieval

MISCELLANEA MEDIAEVALIA IN MEMORIAM JAN FREDERIK NIERMEYER. (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1967. Pp. xxxix, 440. 49.75 gls.)

IN an age when most professors of history who have managed to teach for thirty or forty years, who have had some work published, and who have trained some graduate students can expect and often do receive a very mediocre *Festschrift* in their honor, it is a pleasant surprise to read one similar to those of old with articles of uniformly high quality written by accomplished scholars. This volume truly honors the memory of J. F. Niermeyer who taught with distinction at the University of Amsterdam, who was the moving spirit and principal editor of the superb multivolume *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden,* and who, shortly before his death in 1965, had completed the eleventh volume of his magisterial work, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus.* It displays the erudition of European medievalists and shows what kind of history interests them. Of the thirty-nine articles, three-fourths concern social, economic, and institutional history; the remaining ones, except for two in intellectual history, deal with textual and diplomatic problems. This volume presents a spectrum of the research now being done by medieval historians.

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Of the eleven articles on urban history ranging from town origins to fiscal policy, those of G. Despy approaching the urban origins of Dinant with the thesis that the word *sedilia* refers to plots of land rather than to docking space, of A. Gieysztor on the origins of Warsaw containing evidence substantiating the famous theory of Pirenne, of J. Kossmann-Putto describing the financial policies of the small Dutch town of Kampen in the fourteenth century, and of Mina Martens showing that *vestgeld* was an exaction levied on Brabançonne towns by the dukes to defray costs of fortification are especially valuable. Among six articles on various aspects of feudalism, J. Dhondt argues that individual ability and leadership were the decisive elements required for success as a feudal leader in eleventh-century France and that they were more important than personal bonds and fidelity. He likens the feudal lord to a *condottiere* and the vassals to adventurers. In a study of eleventh- and twelfth-century aristocratic families G. Duby asks what the members of these families regarded as essential marks of aristocracy and finds that they first regarded the status of *miles* as the mark of social superiority and that a sense of pride and an interest in family genealogy developed later when they could boast of a count, *châtelain,* or powerful feudatory in their family. L. Genicot, in an article on what men of the early Middle Ages regarded as their position in and their relation to society, contends that they thought only in terms of the concrete, in terms of men, of human collectivities, of personal relations. The early Capetian kings called themselves *rex Francorum,* not *rex Franciae.*

This is a volume for all medievalists, whatever their specialty. Those interested in medieval law should not miss F. L. Ganshof's study on the Frankish legal procedure that ensued when a person was apprehended in the act of committing a crime. Those concerned with diplomatic and the criticism of texts will be rewarded upon reading the studies of M. A. Arnould, C. Van De Kieft, W. Prevenier, F. Vercauteren, R. C. Van Caenegem, and F. W. N. Hugenholtz. For the numismatist the study of P. Grierson identifies the coins referred to in the Cely Papers. And for the economic historian there are the articles of C. Verlinden on the origins of the Portuguese slave trade in Africa and P. Wolff on the real and personal wealth of villagers in Toulouse during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The committee responsible for this volume should receive the thanks of all medievalists for this "movable feast."

Brown University BRYCE LYON

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDICINE AS A PROFESSION: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITY TO MODERN MEDICINE. By *Vern L. Bullough.* (Basel: S. Karger; distrib. by Hafner Publishing Company, New York. 1966. Pp. 125.)

THE author defines a profession as an occupational group possessing high prestige and considerable power of self-regulation. He infers that its purpose is a self-seeking altruism; under the guise of protecting the public it advances its own social and economic power. This rather harsh estimate will doubtless give joy to the detractors of the medical profession. Mr. Bullough admits that medical

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observation, research, and writing arose within this framework, but he does not adequately consider the powerful influence exerted on physicians by the opinion of their peers.

Bullough believes that the professionalization of medicine is the gift of the medieval university to modern life. He defends his thesis by giving us a rapid review of the history of medicine. Despite what others have assumed, he believes that the true professionalization of medicine did not begin with the Egyptians and the Greeks. While he admits the high status of the Egyptian physician, he maintains that the Egyptian physician was regulated not by his peers but by royal authority. Despite some adherence to the Hippocratic code and loose association as members of the Aesculapian cult, there was no trend to potent self-regulation among the Greeks, either. Such men as Plato and Aristotle believed, furthermore, that medicine was readily understood among all educated persons.

Salerno exercised some slight control over its graduates and assembled medical knowledge, but not until the rise of such universities as Bologna, Padua, and Paris did the professionalization of medicine advance and its study become arduous. As an intellectual discipline, using Latin as its medium, it grew apart from mere craft such as surgery. The medical public thus created was prepared to judge the new ideas of later centuries. The medical faculties of the medieval universities exerted varying control over the practice of medicine locally and sometimes over larger areas, thereby setting the stage for the modern medical profession. Bullough believes that the successful professionalization of medicine provided a model for similar efforts in other fields such as real estate.

The author defends his ideas well and produces a good résumé of the history of medicine through the Middle Ages. There are many minor typographical errors, a few of which may confuse the unwary reader. The work contains a bibliography and an adequate index.

Fredericksburg, Virginia GORDON W. JONES

THE MEDIAEVAL ARTIST AT WORK. By *Virginia Wylie Egbert.* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. 93. $7.50.)

ALTHOUGH many works of art were produced in the Middle Ages, there are few contemporary references to the circumstances and methods surrounding their creation, and even these few are apt to tell us little more than that the works were miraculously wrought by the angels of God, the great artificer. In medieval chronicles, commentaries on the Bible, saints' lives, and sermons, as well as in secular stories and poetry, when the supernatural explanation does not suffice, there is an occasional statement that a work was made "with great care," but there is no information whatever concerning the artistic process. There are a few manuals written by medieval artists, but even the most famous—Theophilus' twelfth-century *De diversis artibus* and Cennino Cennini's fourteenth- to fifteenth-century *Il libro dell'arte*—limit themselves to recipes for grinding and mixing colors, to descriptions of contemporary techniques, and to practical advice about such things as apprenticeship.

Thus far little attention has been paid to the artists' own pictorial conceptions

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of their profession. The present book examines medieval representations of sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, and wood and ivory carvers actually engaged in their work. The seventy-odd examples known to the author are listed alphabetically by location at the end of the book, while the thirty-one chosen for illustration and comment are presented chronologically from the sixth to the fifteenth century.

The illustrations (themselves admirable examples of the photographer's and photoengraver's art), the discussions, and the twenty-three additional smaller plates tell us much about the surroundings in which the artists worked and the materials that they used. The illustrations reveal a lively interest in the artistic process and enlarge our knowledge of the medieval artist's tools, methods, and attitudes. To show the realism of the works represented in the illustrations, our author compares it with that of actual pieces of medieval sculpture, painting, metalwork, and carving.

Three small points are worthy of note: First, most of the artists shown are not simply didactic illustrations for texts. They are represented for their own sake. Second, as G. G. Coulton has maintained, only a few of the artists are monks. Third, a palette is first represented in 1402.

The author is a member of the research staff of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University. In so far as one can judge, she has covered her subject well, organized her discussion carefully, and presented it effectively.

Point Reyes Station, California LESLIE W. JONES

LA GÉOGRAPHIE HUMAINE DU MONDE MUSULMAN JUSQU'AU MILIEU DU 11e SIÈCLE: GÉOGRAPHIE ET GÉOGRAPHIE HUMAINE DANS LA LITTÉRATURE ARABE DES ORIGINES À 1050. By *André Miquel.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VIe Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Centre de recherches historiques. Civilisations et sociétés, Number 7.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1967. Pp. l, 420.)

STUDENTS of Arabic geography of the pre-Islamic and Umayyad periods are aware of its unorganized beginning and its practical nature. Early records remained scattered in government bureaus, historical accounts, and private papers. The early Abbasids first gave Arabic geography, particularly in its physical and mathematical branches, a formal literate status. Court-sponsored scholars drew increasingly on Indian, Persian, and Greek practice and theories and initiated the translation of non-Arabic geographical literatures. The author devotes an introductory chapter to the influence of foreign geographic lore and theories on Muslim geographers. Extant formal geographical works, written in Arabic by Arabs and non-Arabs, date from the early ninth century onward. They center at first on individual cities and provinces, expand rapidly to include the vast Abbasid Empire, and progress to a world view. At no time do their authors neglect the humanistic approach that centers on the life and culture of people in their own homelands.

The author introduces us to a long list of writers whose geographical works he classifies, analyzes, and compares as to method, type of content, and each writer's particular bent for matters political, religious, or cultural. Despite ex-

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panded and intensified interest in the subject, Arab geography did not develop into a unified discipline in its own right.

The rest of this book can be said to be a thoroughgoing effort to explain why this was so. The central factor was that the diversified geographical literature of the period was produced by writers who were not professional geographers as we understand this phrase. Some were better known as state secretaries serving as heads of the bureau of taxation or of the postal service. Others were polygraphs better known for their historical or religious books or for their linguistic and literary output. Adventurous voyagers, empire trotters, and traveling merchantmen with lively imaginations and great curiosity were also included. Most were well-rounded men of culture (*udabā'*), and their culture (*adab*) was Arabic and Islamic regardless of their race or denominational affiliations.

This view of humanistic Muslim geography is not new. But the great emphasis placed upon it and the thoroughness with which it is presented in all its complexity, happily aided by tables and diagrams, render the work a welcome contribution to the understanding of human geography under the aegis of Islam. The emphasis on *adab* as the central factor in the character of Arab geography provides greater depth in the layman's concept of Islamic humanistic culture itself.

University of Chicago NABIA ABBOTT

SUD'BY SVOBODNOGO KREST'IANSTVA V GERMANII V VIII–XII VV. [The Plight of the Free Peasantry in Germany in the 8th–12th Century]. By *A. I. Neusykhin*. [Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii. Issledovaniia po Istorii Krest'ianstva v Evrope.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1964. Pp. 330.)

THIS study results from Neusykhin's extensive research on the history of the peasants in medieval Western Europe. Three earlier works by the author have explored the transition from free large families toward a dependent peasant class during the sixth through the ninth century. This volume carries the research and the synthesis to the times of the Ottonians and the Hohenstaufens. It analyzes collections of ecclesiastical and secular charters reflecting changes in the ownership of landed property in some selected and geographically distinct areas of Germanic Europe: Allemania and Raetia, Tirol, and Frisia with Saxony.

Mr. Neusykhin begins with an extensive survey of the literature dealing with rural settlement and early forms of ownership (large family, village communities). Much of his study is based on sources, mainly charters of the monasteries at Saint Gall, Bolzano, and Werden, as well as on collections of charters for the city and district of Zurich. Because all of the sources cited by the author are available in printed form, checking his conclusions poses no problem. His erudition is strengthened by reference to many monographic studies in Russian, German, and French. The reader interested in special aspects of the history of peasantry in medieval Germany will be guided by an index of specific topics and terms, as well as one of personal and geographic names. There is also a bibliography of sources and monographs.

This study investigates the formal aspects of the transition from the alodial

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family or communal ownership of the free peasantry toward tenant ownership. Neusykhin interprets the trend in ownership rights in terms of class struggle: the free peasant is forced into submission, and his dependency eventually leads him to serfdom. The conclusions seem to be convincing, but only if "freedom" is analyzed in total isolation from the position of the individual in society. The large family, an economic and sociopolitical entity of the tribal stage, lost coherence as economic and sociopolitical interrelations grew. Dissolution of the large family paralleled the consolidation of the feudal society and of the state. The deeds of conveyance, more frequently than is assumed by the author, were steps to bring the free peasant—free, indeed, from any legal protection—into a legal system extending protection over families and village communities unable to exist alone. Rental payments and services were no more than taxation for services rendered by the seignorial authorities. The relationship between the free peasant and his protector was contractual, as shown by the charters, even though the agreements were frequently violated. The "Beschwerden" (complaints) brought by the peasants to the courts and quoted here by the author illustrate exceptions to the rule rather than proof of a trend.

Neusykhin presents new ways to approach the study of social transformations in medieval society. Many of his observations will remain valid contributions to our knowledge of large-family and peasant communities. Future studies by this author that are devoted to problems of the peasantry in Germany might well contain substantial German summaries.

University of Washington IMRE BOBA

MENSCHEN IM MITTELALTER: GESAMMELTE FORSCHUNGEN, BETRACHTUNGEN, BILDER. By *Wolfram von den Steinen*. Edited by *Peter von Moos*. (Bern: Francke Verlag. 1967. Pp. 352. 48 fr. S.)

THIS book gathers into a single volume fifteen articles and lectures by the distinguished Swiss medievalist, Wolfram von den Steinen. The oldest essay dates back to 1931, and, while the bibliographies have occasionally been expanded, the text substantially reflects the state of scholarship at the time of the original printing. Von den Steinen is probably best known to American medievalists for his publications on medieval cosmological ideas and for his study, edition, and translation of the sequences of Notker Balbulus, poet of Saint Gall. This collection faithfully reflects the author's lifelong interest in medieval literature, especially Latin poetry. His approach to cultural history is fundamentally biographical.

Ten of these essays examine, under various aspects, the careers and works of kings, poets, and philosophers—Charlemagne and his court scholars, Notker, Bernward of Hildesheim, Abelard, Bernard Silvestris, Francis of Assisi, Frederick II Hohenstaufen, and others. Von den Steinen handles his biographies with extraordinary sensitivity, and he effectively uses his subjects to illuminate the literary and religious culture of their age, neither obliterating their personalities nor isolating them from their cultural surroundings. The biographical approach is clearly most effective when he examines such great personalities as Francis of Assisi, but even figures of less exalted stature come to life at his hands. Von den

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Steinen represents a particular method of cultural history that is highly literary, highly biographical, less concerned with popular culture or with broad social attitudes. We read much today, in medieval cultural histories, of collective "mentalities," which seem at times to spring more from the imaginations of modern scholars than from the minds of medieval men. This collection, in addition to honoring Von den Steinen, also gives historians a chance to recognize that this older, traditional biographical and literary approach can still enrich our appreciation of the medieval world.

University of Wisconsin DAVID HERLIHY

KARL DER GROSSE: LEBENSWERK UND NACHLEBEN. Volume III, KAROLINGISCHE KUNST. Edited by *Wolfgang Braunfels* and *Hermann Schnitzler*. Volume IV, DAS NACHLEBEN. Edited by *Wolfgang Braunfels* and *Percy Ernst Schramm*. (Düsseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann. 1965; 1967. Pp. 590; 484. DM 68 each.)

THE scope of this monumental work on Charlemagne is indicated in my earlier review of Volumes I and II (*AHR*, LXXIII [Oct. 1967], 115). The third volume, on Carolingian art, consists of twenty studies that vary greatly in merit and length; sixteen are written in German, three in French, one in English. The subject matter is divided into "figurative expressions of art"—illumination of manuscripts and objects made of precious metals, bronze, stone, and clay—and into architecture in its broadest sense.

Florentine Mütherich summarizes in magisterial fashion what we know about illumination of books at the court of Charlemagne and pays homage to the lifework of the late Wilhelm Köhler on *Carolingian Miniatures*. Jean Porcher deals with illuminated manuscripts in the eastern part of the Frankish Empire, and Kurt Holter describes those from southern Germany and northern Italy and acknowledges the importance of E. A. Lowe's *Codices Latini Antiquiores*. Liturgical utensils made of metals are investigated by Viktor H. Elbern; Charlemagne's bronze workshop, by Wolfgang Braunfels; ornamental stone sculptures, by Erika Doberer; and Carolingian ceramic products in Central Europe, by Hermann Hinz. Some controversial subjects in art history are explored in John Beckwith's discussion of the "Byzantine" influence on art at the Frankish court and in Peter Bloch's paper on the Apsis-Mosaic of Germigny-des-Pres.

The studies on architecture center on Charlemagne's royal *Pfalz* and chapel at Aachen and elsewhere in the Empire and as such are somewhat repetitive. Thus, Edgar Lehmann and Mme. Vieillard both write on architecture at the time of Charlemagne. Günther Bandmann deals with the prototypes of the Palatine Chapel; Felix Kreusch covers "Church, Atrium, and Porticus of the *Pfalz*"; and Leo Hugot offers an extensive topographical and archaeological investigation of the *Pfalz*. Albert Mann contributes a map of the secular and ecclesiastical *Grossbauten* from Carolingian and earlier times. All the Frankish *Pfalzen* in Germany are scrutinized by Walter Sage, who also writes on early wooden structures. Lehmann outlines the arrangement of the altars at Centula, while Honoré Bernard reports on excavations conducted there in recent years at

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Angilbert's Saint-Riquier. Willy Weyers discusses the restoration of Cologne Cathedral.

Volume IV offers sixteen studies: two in French, one in Italian, the rest in German. It deals with the impact of Charlemagne's person and work on legends and literatures, on art and architecture, and on artistic creations and historical research from the Middle Ages, through the Renaissance and the baroque periods, to the modern frescoes of Alfred Rethel, which are critically analyzed by Von Einem. While Helmut Beumann deals specifically with the tomb and the throne of Charlemagne, K. F. Werner investigates the first eight generations of his descendants, and Karl Hauck writes on the Ottonians and Aachen. Aachen's charter, issued in 1166 by Frederick I, is covered by Erich Meuthen. Robert Folz discusses certain aspects of the cult of the sanctified Charlemagne in France, and Matthias Zender describes the Emperor's veneration throughout the medieval Empire. Dietrich Kötzsche deals with the architectural imitations of the Palatine Chapel; E. G. Grimme, with a variety of monuments that express the King's popularity. Myths and legends surrounding Charlemagne and concerning Roland are competently disentangled by Rita Lejeune and Jacques Stiennon; those of the German legend, by Von Pfeil; the Italian ones, by Gina Fasoli. Gerhard Lohse shows how they influenced German medieval literature. Paul Schoenen analyzes paintings, frescoes, and sculptures from Albrecht Dürer to the present. A most attractive historiographical survey is presented in Arno Borst's well-reasoned critical evaluation of the ideas concerning Charlemagne's person and work from the humanist Bruni to the exhibition of the *Europarat* in 1965.

Both volumes are lavishly supplied with facsimiles of miniatures and artistically executed initials drawn from manuscripts. There are illustrations of liturgical utensils, of bronze work, stone sculptures, mosaics, and vases, as well as numerous charts and maps. A special *Registerband* will contain the general index for the work's four volumes.

University of Illinois, Urbana LUITPOLD WALLACH

CHARLEMAGNE'S COUSINS: CONTEMPORARY LIVES OF ADALARD AND WALA. Translated, with introduction and notes, by *Allen Cabaniss*. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 226. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR Cabaniss has skillfully performed the intricate task of rendering into modern English the ornate Latin, much embellished with quotations and allusions, of the Carolingian monk-theologian Paschasius Radbertus. Besides his works on theology, Radbertus wrote biographies of two of his recent predecessors as abbots of the Picard monastery of Corbie, and these biographies are now for the first time translated into English, accompanied by a succinct but informative introduction. Even in English, these monkish *Lives* make difficult reading. Radbertus' style is loquacious, and his narrative meanders at such a leisurely pace and in such an intricate manner that the reader is in constant danger of losing track altogether of its course. Every literary artifice known to the author of those days is pressed into service: pseudonyms, puns and alliteration, passages from Job, from the comedies of Terence, and from Vergil, and countless allusions

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punctuate the text. Moreover, the *Life of Wala* takes the form, unusual for a biography, of a dialogue. But there can be no question of the historical value of these works, particularly the *Life of Wala*. Not only are we given an insight into Carolingian monasticism, but, because of the court or palace connections of Adalard and Wala, we learn much about Carolingian history in the reigns of Charlemagne and, more particularly, of Louis the Pious.

This book thus forms a most valuable addition to the source material on Carolingian history already available in English, part of which has been contributed by Cabaniss himself. The notes, essential for an understanding of both introduction and text, are tucked away at the back of the book. This means that direct reference, from introduction to text, is impossible. Instead, one has to search the back of the book to discover where to look in the text. Whatever may be said about straightforward, popular histories, surely in a work of this kind the place for notes is at the foot of the page.

University of Hull RICHARD VAUGHAN

A MEDITERRANEAN SOCIETY: THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES OF THE ARAB WORLD AS PORTRAYED IN THE DOCUMENTS OF THE CAIRO GENIZA. Volume I, ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS. By *S. D. Goitein*. [Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. xxvi, 550. $12.95.)

THIS book, by a distinguished historian and philologist, is based on the study of over six thousand documents in the Arabic language and in Hebrew characters. These and other documents were discovered at the end of the nineteenth century in the Genizah of an old Cairo synagogue. Following in the pioneering footsteps of Elkan N. Adler, Solomon Schechter, and Jacob Mann, the author displays superb erudition and skill in mastering the variegated and heterogeneous material now dispersed in libraries all over Europe and America. These Genizah documents "appear in a trickle during the second part of the tenth century and become a flood for the subsequent two and a half centuries," and they are a primary source for social and economic Islamic history during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods. The book is thus about the Mediterranean scene during the High Middle Ages (969–1250).

There are a lengthy introduction, a historical survey, and discussion of such wide-ranging subjects as social classes, craftsmen, wage earners, main industries, agriculture, fisheries, professions for women, slaves and slave girls, merchants and their employees, business procedures, practices, commodities, trade routes and prices, money, banking and finance, travel and seafaring, commercial overland mail service, river traffic, the economic importance of seafaring, types of vessels, the organization of shipping, piracy, war, storage, and cost of transport. Appendixes comprise valuable details on dates, names, coins, weights and measures, exchange rate of gold and silver money, and industrial partnerships. There are a sizable scholarly apparatus and a general index, but no bibliography. A map of the Mediterranean in the eleventh century precedes the title page. This is a most readable book, written in nontechnical language; its beauty is

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enhanced by photographs of handwritten Genizah letters, papers, and coins. A companion volume of translations of many of the Genizah texts is to follow. Through this rare combination of philological and historical methodological mastery of unique, highly illegible material, which has hitherto remained largely untapped, a new vista of research has opened for the student of history of Mediterranean countries during the Middle Ages. Historians will therefore anticipate the second and third volumes that are to be published later.

The author is to be complimented on his success in providing "a fairly complete inventory of the Geniza, thus conveying an idea of the topics and types of information to be found in the Geniza documents." It is an outstanding accomplishment.

New York, New York HARRY L. POPPERS

GODIVA OF COVENTRY. By *Joan C. Lancaster*. With a chapter on the folk tradition of the story by *H. R. Ellis Davidson*. [The Coventry Papers, Number 1.] (Coventry: Coventry Corporation. 1967. Pp. ix, 114, 17 plates. 12*s*.6*d*.)

THE story of Lady Godiva's ride, naked on a white horse through Coventry market, is known to everyone as a piece of folklore. But how far is it folklore, and how far is it history? That is the question the authors of this little book set out to answer in the nine hundredth year since Godiva's death. Mr. Davidson uses his knowledge of folklore to show that the story is not characteristic of religious or magical folklore, but rather is similar to other stories with a historical basis, embroidered in the course of time. Miss Lancaster, who has written most of the book, places Lady Godiva in her historical setting and shows how the story grew and was popularized by public celebrations in modern times.

The story itself can be traced back to the thirteenth century, coincident with a romantic revival of interest in Anglo-Saxon history and persons, of which the canonization of Edward the Confessor was a product and the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey in his honor was the chief monument. But there is nothing impossible in the story that an eleventh-century earl would promise to free the market at Coventry of tolls if his wife would make a spectacle of herself. It is rather earthy, but the eleventh century was earthy. In any case, the story was told by monastic chroniclers because she was said to have made her ride unseen and accounted it a miracle. Only later was this aspect of the story explained by her order to the people to stay indoors and not to peep, leading to the further embellishment of Peeping Tom. The lengthy bibliography shows that the story remained chiefly in English possession until the last century but that it has now entered into the romantic heritage of all Western European civilization. Eighteen plates, chiefly of works of art inspired by the story, prove that the story is very much alive.

Unfortunately, from a historian's point of view, the book may add to the legend. Its hypothesis, that what Godiva won from her husband was freedom from heregeld, is based on the assumption that Coventry was Godiva's property in her husband's lifetime, for which there is no evidence; on the contrary, the evidence is strong that what she won was freedom from tolls in the market.

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In compiling the genealogy of Godiva the latest and best secondary sources have not been used, and some blunders have been made, especially in regard to Lucy, countess of Chester. The currency of the story in the twelfth century is moot, for Roger of Wendover wrote his version, the earliest extant, in the thirteenth century. But these are minor blemishes in an interesting contribution both to the history of eleventh-century England and to the folklore of modern Europe.

University of Connecticut FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

THE LETTERS OF PETER THE VENERABLE. In two volumes. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by *Giles Constable*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Number 78.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 450; vi, 427. $35.00 the set.)

As abbot of Cluny from 1122 to 1156, Peter the Venerable corresponded with many private and public figures, some of them great. Certain of the letters sent and received were grouped by Peter and his secretary into an epistolary collection, a recognized literary genre; as the collection grew and was revised, several redactions took shape and were copied. The final redaction, in a now-lost Cluny codex, was printed in 1522 (text *C*); it contained 197 letters. The first redaction, in a Douai manuscript (text *A*), included 110 letters; in between there were others, some represented by surviving codices. Several printed editions, including Migne's, derived at various removes from the *editio princeps* of 1522, have made the text generally available, but also corrupt; the present edition (in Volume I) is therefore welcome. The existence of a number of redactions, differing to be sure chiefly in point of completeness, posed a difficult problem for Mr. Constable. He might have reconstructed the original text of *C*, with significant variants noted in the apparatus; instead, he has chosen to follow *A* as far as it goes, *C* for the rest, with variants noted according to a system that allows the useful to mingle with the otiose. This defect, if it is one, is not serious enough to affect the value of the edition, which is complete, except for three long letters that are really tractates (*Contra Petrobrusianos, Contra Iudaeos, Contra eos qui dicunt*) and will shortly be edited by others.

The second volume includes a useful study of medieval letter writing and epistolary collection, a chapter on the text tradition, historical and bibliographical notes to the letters, and a series of miscellaneous appendixes devoted to episodes of Peter's life, special problems of identification and dating, and background information about Cluny and other foundations. There are also guides for the reader: a statement and defense of the principles of the edition, indexes, a concordance with earlier editions, and a map. All in all these two volumes are impressive embodiments of much hard work, guided by an admirable breadth of learning judiciously applied.

University of Washington HOWARD KAMINSKY

BYZANTIUM CONFRONTS THE WEST, 1180–1204. By *Charles M. Brand*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 394. $12.50.)

THE period between the death of Manuel I in 1180 and the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the crusaders no doubt marks the beginning of the definite

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disintegration of the Byzantine Empire. The principal events and the salient features of the internal situation of the Empire during that period are well known. Cognasso devoted a monograph to the political struggle that followed the death of Manuel and another one to the reign of Isaac II. Danstrup has examined the internal policy of Andronicus I, while Diehl has drawn a brilliant portrait of the same Emperor. Chalandon and others have described in detail the Norman expedition against the Empire in 1185. The policy of Pope Innocent III toward Byzantium has been repeatedly discussed. The conditions of Attica during this period have been analyzed more than once. The loss of Cyprus and the revival of the Bulgarian Empire have been treated in detail as has Frederick Barbarossa's crusade, the relations of Henry VI to the Empire, and, of course, the Fourth Crusade. Brand's book, however, is the first attempt to treat the period as a unit and to treat it in detail on the basis of a thorough examination of the sources. It is more extensive in its coverage than the title implies, and it may be best described as a study of the Byzantine Empire from 1180 to its destruction by the crusaders in 1202. Of the twelve chapters that compose it, five relate to the Byzantine Empire itself; seven to its relations with the West. The number of pages devoted to the Empire far exceeds those devoted to relations with the West, however.

This is a good book, but in one important respect it is a little disappointing. In omitting any discussion of the problem of the diversion of the Fourth Crusade, Brand may have heeded the plea made by a distinguished scholar years ago that scholarship has more important things to do than to discuss indefinitely a problem that is in fact insoluble. The problem, however, is not without interest, and a discussion of it is by no means useless. That the diversion of the Fourth Crusade was a premeditated affair cannot be asserted as a fact, but the basis for the suspicion that it was a fact is strong indeed. I would have liked to see Brand express himself on the matter. The short appendix he devotes to the date of Prince Alexius' arrival in the West, which, of course, bears on the problem, is not enough.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick PETER CHARANIS

A HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL IRELAND. By *A. J. Otway-Ruthven*. With an introduction by *Kathleen Hughes*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. xv, 454. $10.00.)

THIS long-needed and impressive book supersedes at every point the only other general account, that of Edmund Curtis (1923; 2d ed., 1938). Its greatest value lies in incorporating the results of recent important work by a number of scholars, notably Richardson and Sayles, J. F. Lydon, and, most importantly, Professor Otway-Ruthven herself. Most of the book is a detailed political narrative; it inevitably becomes laborious at times, but on the whole it provides a clear and reliable guide to the tangle of Anglo-Irish politics, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is enlivened by the author's fresh and sensible remarks on a host of matters, from the spirit and purposes of the Statutes of Kilkenny to the supposed "degeneracy" of the Anglo-Irish lords. She puts particular emphasis on the constant financial difficulties of the local government, which began with

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the demands made on Irish resources by Edward I and Edward II for their other adventures, in Scotland and on the Continent. Later kings displayed intermittent interest in Ireland, but their efforts to recoup authority required far more consistency of policy and personnel than they were able or willing to provide. These points are most clearly reflected in the change from the thirteenth-century justiciar as royal alter ego to the fifteenth-century lieutenant as glorified mercenary captain, trying to re-create royal authority by force but undercut by local rivalries and by the failure of the crown to follow through with additional supplies. Clearly, the colonists were on the defensive from the late thirteenth century; this was exacerbated by partition and absenteeism, but more significant was the fact that Anglo-Irish lords, in the absence of effective centralized control, accommodated themselves to native patterns of warfare and self-help and sought to cut their own losses through indentures or other agreements with Irish chieftains.

The narrative is broken by three analytical chapters on social organization, the Church, and the structure of government. These are handled with characteristic sureness of touch, although at times clarity is blurred by reference to persons or events not yet covered in the narrative. The chapters are, nevertheless, full of illuminating and suggestive remarks: colonization below the level of the tenants in chief as part of the Pan-European phenomenon responding to (and allowing) rapid demographic growth; the spread of the parish system; the comparative constitutional positions of the Anglo-Irish lords and the marchers of Wales. The section on the Church is perhaps less satisfying than the others for it confines itself to institutional structure and makes little mention of such things as monastic education or popular piety. This reflects the fact that, as the author herself states, an "infinity of work" remains to be done on these and on many other subjects, including almost all aspects of Gaelic Ireland. There is an excellent introductory chapter by Kathleen Hughes on early Irish tribal organization, the spread of Christianity, and the segmentation of political power. These lines of approach need to be applied to the postconquest period as well, for, without them, medieval Ireland can only be treated from the viewpoint of the colonists. This, however, in no way detracts from the intent and the solid achievement of Otway-Ruthven's book; within its limits, it will unquestionably stand as the definitive treatment of its subject.

Case Western Reserve University MICHAEL ALTSCHUL

THE CARTULARY OF DALE ABBEY. Edited, with an introduction, by *Avrom Saltman*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, JP 11.] (London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Service, New York. 1967. Pp. 423. $21.00 postpaid.)

AFTER the failure of three earlier attempts to settle canons in southeast Derbyshire, Dale Abbey was successfully established about 1200 with the arrival of Premonstratensian canons from Newhouse Abbey in Lincolnshire, the first English house of White Canons. Dale is the only Premonstratensian abbey for which a contemporary chronicle of its founding exists. The cartulary adds little to this account since with few exceptions all the charters are of the thirteenth century,

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almost no twelfth-century ones having survived. Dale, as the cartulary makes clear, was and remained an abbey of modest endowment, and it seems evident that the earlier efforts to found a house of canons failed because of insufficient income. The introduction sketches the origins and foundation of the abbey and then gives a genealogy of the two families primarily responsible for adequately endowing this fourth group of canons. There is a convenient résumé of the charters by areas, most of them concerned with holdings in the counties of Derby and Nottingham. Since Dale was founded about 1200, after the enthusiasm for giving parish churches to canons had declined, it is not surprising that the canons received only one church and that most of their revenues came from rents and services. Some consideration is given to social and economic characteristics of the locality as revealed by the charters, the most interesting being a discussion of the practice of substituting the abbey as a feudal tenant. While the lords, indeed, could not resist this substitution before the statutes of mortmain and *Quia Emptores,* the cartulary shows that they could force the canons to pay before they allowed entry.

The cartulary is a valuable addition to sources for local historians. The editor has markedly increased its value by his inclusion of supplementary documents from other sources and by his use of the original texts of the charters wherever possible, with differences from the cartulary copies indicated in footnotes.

Kenyon College ROBERT L. BAKER

PARIS AND OXFORD UNIVERSITIES IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES: AN INSTITUTIONAL AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY. By *Gordon Leff.* [New Dimensions in History. Essays in Comparative History.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1968. Pp. viii, 331. $3.50.)

THIS study is a fine example of well-known material handled with a sure and subtle touch. The comparative examination of these two outstanding studia highlights and places in meaningful juxtaposition familiar elements. It lends novelty to the evaluation of traditional facts, while making vivid and clear the author's carefully resolved conclusions. Leff has complete command of the new material that has appeared since Rashdall and D'Irsay published their basic surveys of university life. He has also gone back to the major printed sources, a procedure that permits perspicacious judgment of the secondary works. If he disagrees fundamentally on certain points with Rashdall, he is equally quizzical of Rashdall's editors. It is at least of passing interest to note how much American scholars have contributed to our knowledge of Paris and Oxford and to observe Leff's acknowledged dependence on the studies of Paetow, Haskins, Kibre, Post, Gabriel, and other American writers.

The medieval universities were set apart because they were centers in the pursuit of learning where knowledge was professionalized and not a mere extension of the Church. Leff insists on the international character of Paris, the real center of European learning and intelligence. It was strategically situated, but, unlike Oxford, lived in the shadow of royal and diocesan authority. If never so important as Paris, Oxford enjoyed greater freedom. It had no king or bishop

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too near at hand. It was, however, local rather than international in character, and this isolation was often advantageous. In Part One of his study Leff surveys the institutional and academic aspects of life in both institutions. He is fine in delineating the growth, nature, and mentalities of the nations and the faculties at Paris, a procedure essential for understanding what became an inevitable contest between the arts faculty and the theologians. Even seasoned scholars will read with profit and enjoyment the author's analysis of the struggle between the university and the friars in Paris. Many problems that have not always been fully comprehended are cogently presented in this section. In examining internal developments of the universities, proper attention is given to the development of the nations and the rector, questions pertaining to benefices and fees, the position of the colleges, and the important question of university rights and privileges.

Part Two of this book is a perceptive study in medieval intellectual history. Possibly the most important, and certainly for many the most interesting, pages of this section deal with the impact of Aristotle on medieval university minds. "This search for new learning—or rather rediscovery of the old and unknown—was one of the most remarkable episodes of the Middle Ages. It deserves to be put in the forefront of the historical events of the epoch. . . ." The Aristotelian impact on the schools was shattering, culminating in the condemnation of 1277 with the reaffirmation of theology as the queen of the sciences, the eclipse of Thomism, and the rise of Ockhamism (with its challenge to both theology and metaphysics). Leff considers at some length the implications of mendicant poverty and evaluates the brilliant work of Grosseteste and the Oxford school of the thirteenth century. Seven interesting but poorly reproduced illustrations are scattered through the book. Though these are identified as to subject, it is regrettable that no indications of their origins are given. This book is without question a major contribution to university studies.

Northwestern University GRAY C. BOYCE

HERESY IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES: THE RELATION OF HETERODOXY TO DISSENT *C.* 1250–*C.* 1450. In two volumes. By *Gordon Leff*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. x, 407; v, 411–800. $15.00 the set.)

GORDON Leff has set himself a major task: a comprehensive study of later medieval heresy on a scale not attempted since Lea. He operates, moreover, with a conceptual model. He regards the long procession of dissident movements from the Spiritual Franciscans to the Hussites as an essentially logical progression from heterodoxy through heresy to sectarianism, a process made inevitable by the overriding rigidity of medieval society.

In his first volume Leff has a sure touch. He is scrupulously exact in his use of sources, he has mastered the literature, and his judgments of major figures are eminently sane. As a prominent example of his technique, one might cite his speculations on the real nature of the controversial heresy of the free spirit. He first carefully isolates it from the surrounding corpus of Beghard and Beguine

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doctrine and then proceeds to argue most convincingly that the free spirit was not doctrinal in nature, but was characterized rather by an internationalization of the newly popular Neoplatonism, thus no more than a sometimes vague state of mind.

The second volume is devoted to an equally painstaking examination of the increasingly politically oriented heterodox movements of the fourteenth century and to the eventual outbreak of a religious revolution. Here there are arguments, perhaps more, shadings, that will not meet with universal agreement. It may be true that Marsilius of Padua was not "a calculating exponent of *raison d'état*" but rather a "Christian moralist outraged by the abuses within the Church"; that Wyclif and his opponents were more concerned with theological than with sociopolitical questions; and that Lollardry was essentially an aberration which, in its later and more radical phase, Wyclif himself would have disowned. But one may still wonder whether the rather neat distinction between learned and popular heresy that Leff makes always took the form of a politicization of initially theological opinions by those unable to follow their subtleties. This question deserves to be raised, particularly with reference to Leff's treatment of the Hussite movement. Although he is very careful to establish the native roots of Hussitism, and to distinguish it from Lollardry, he for the most part emphasizes its religious and national character to the detriment of its social moments. This may well be the result of a not entirely felicitous choice of sources. On the whole, Leff follows the older literature in Western languages here and does not make use of more recent Czech work. As Howard Kaminsky has lately demonstrated, questions of ideological *parti pris* aside, there is a deep-seated element of social radicalism in the Hussite revolution and among some of its principal leaders.

But this last should not detract from the genuine merit of Leff's book. He has produced a remarkable synthesis and established the actual nature of relationships that are frequently assumed without close investigation. This is an important book.

Colorado College PAUL P. BERNARD

EARLY VENETIAN LEGISLATION ON AMBASSADORS. By *Donald E. Queller.* [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Number 88.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1966. Pp. 149.)

STUDENTS of the history of diplomacy as well as students of the history of Venice will find this book of great interest. It is divided in two parts. The second part presents previously unpublished archival source material about the development of Venetian diplomatic institutions, beginning with a document from the year 1268 and ending with documents from 1500. The first part might be characterized as a very lengthy introduction evaluating the material published in the second part. This introduction does not amount to a survey of the history of Venetian diplomacy in the *trecento* and the *quattrocento;* this the author did not intend. He is aware that, because of the fires that have destroyed parts of the Venetian archives and because of the dispersal of documents on diplomatic

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administration among a great variety of fields, there is no guarantee that his source material is complete. Nevertheless, many significant facts emerge from the author's analysis of his documents.

Expenses for diplomatic purposes consumed most of the Commune's money. Thus, much of the Venetian diplomatic legislation consisted in regulations intended to keep expenses down and to force exact bookkeeping and accounting on Venetian diplomats. In 1466 the Senate even passed a law that the author describes as "significant of a sweeping change coming over diplomatic administration and making a sharp contrast between the medieval and modern diplomatic machinery": the law forbade the Venetian orators or *nuncii* to receive expenses either in money or in kind from the court where they were accredited. The Venetian patricians showed a limited inclination toward selfless political service. Because ambassadors received unsatisfactory payment, the Venetian nobility used every possible means to avoid being sent abroad, and, if they could not escape office, they tried to combine diplomatic service with private business. The material from the *trecento* and *quattrocento* gives little indication of a particular excellence of Venetian diplomacy. A law of 1268 provided that on their return from a mission abroad ambassadors must make a written report; there is, therefore, a long tradition behind the much-admired *relazioni* of the Venetian diplomats. The study of the early development of Venetian diplomatic institutions also provides a striking example of how, in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, political leadership gradually shifted from the Great Council to the Senate.

Briefly, this is a valuable book because it penetrates beyond the Venetian myth to the concrete working of the Venetian government machinery.

Institute for Advanced Study FELIX GILBERT

A MEDIEVAL SOCIETY: THE WEST MIDLANDS AT THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By *R. H. Hilton*. (New York: John Wiley and Sons; New York: Humanities Press. [1967.] Pp. x, 305. $8.00.)

THE medieval western Midlands comprised the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Warwick, once politically combined as the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Hwicce, ecclesiastically almost coterminous with the diocese of Worcester, and geographically joined by the Severn and Avon Rivers. Professor Hilton considers the reign of Edward I a period of stability, with Western European expansion reaching its limits and England at peace after the baronial wars of the thirteenth century. The documentary sources used for this description of western Midland society reveal conditions and relationships as they in fact existed and, in doing so, show that Edward's legislative and military activities had little direct effect. The most striking result of "looking from the bottom upward" rather than "from on high," as Hilton expresses it, is the discovery that, in both rural and urban local affairs, the local landholders, not the King, were dominant.

The book begins with a discussion of the powers and possessions of the lay and ecclesiastical lords, the knights, and the lower clergy. Then follows a particularly full account of the peasants: legal and economic differences among them, their holdings, their obligations, their activities in their village communities, and

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even their houses, their chattels, and their diet. Considerably less attention is given to the townsmen, presumably because too few sources survive. The emphasis is on trade and industry, including rural industry. The cursory survey of town life is largely limited to discussing the degree of self-government in the chief towns and the part played by merchants in town affairs. The last chapter, on social control, summarizes the evidence concerning the power of the landholding class, including proof of the King's inability to exercise effective control even over his forests. It concludes with some examples of the violence found in the society and a consideration of the clergy's failure to curb it.

This work, which the author describes as setting the stage for a future study of changes in this society during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is an admirable synthesis of sources and studies. It demonstrates clearly that, important as Edward's legislative and parliamentary developments were, their effects were hardly noticeable in the lives of most men. It is also a book that can be profitably used by the beginning student since the unfamiliar, whether in words or conditions, is always defined or explained.

Kenyon College ROBERT L. BAKER

DE GESTIS CONCILII BASILIENSIS COMMENTARIORVM LIBRI II. By *Aeneas Sylvius Piccolominus (Pius II)*. Edited and translated by *Denys Hay* and *W. K. Smith*. [Oxford Medieval Texts.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xxxviii, 268. $8.80.)

THIS is an excellent critical edition and translation of Aeneas Sylvius' *Commentaries on the Proceedings of the Council of Basel,* with a useful introduction by Professor Hay. No history, this, if we apply classical or early Renaissance canons for this genre. The future pope (Pius II) announces in his preface that he intends to give an account of the proceedings of the long-suffering, long-sitting Council of Basel. Instead, he concerns himself with the conciliar discussions of the year 1439. Book One covers some of the debates held just before the deposition of Eugenius IV, whereas the next book treats the election of the antipope, Felix V. (The remote possibility exists that there was a middle book, now lost, dealing with intervening events.) Aeneas concentrates upon the world of the spoken word, and his narrative unfolds through the grace and gracelessness of the orators. Here we have orations pro and contra, with appropriate editorial asides as to the motives and alignments of the speakers. No aesthetic blend of public message and private personality is proffered. The interest of the author is in the word per se, and, frequently, this enthusiasm is not misplaced. The value of these commentaries does not rest in the portrayal of the tired activity of a council that only four years before had risen to cruel greatness. At that time the members had reformed the *Curia,* abolished annates and chancery fees, while declaring *Sacrosancte* (conciliar supremacy) an article of faith. Instead, these commentaries present a rhetoric of ecclesiastical discourse redolent with Ciceronianism. The fathers are enjoined to recall the sacrifice on Thermopylae as well as on Calvary. Aeneas was himself a notable orator who had successfully addressed the council earlier, inviting them to meet next in his natal city Siena. His confidence is in the spoken word, and he seeks to make literature

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out of a meeting of an ecclesiastical council—no easy task. The year 1439 is one of "spiritual contest"; prelates come to resemble Achilles and Hector, and the historical analogue of the Trojan War or even the Catilinarian conspiracy tumbles to mind. Antiquity furnishes image and metaphor but not historical ordering principles.

Such borrowing lends a dignified frame to proceedings that Aeneas realizes are sometimes shoddy and even obscene. The future pope understands that men possessed of "more soul than eloquence" are hopelessly disadvantaged. He himself approaches his fortieth year without patrimony or prospects. His friends have chided him about his devotion to the muses of poetry and history, and so he resolves to put aside these frivolous pastimes and get on with the serious business of career building. But, like the proverbial moth before the flame, this humanist-jurist must write. To those who would understand *quattrocento* spirituality, this text provides language and syntax worthy of literary analysis and emotional exploration. We know so much about conciliar theory and the politics of Basel, but so little of the personalities and the rhetorical masks they felt were required.

University of Rochester MARVIN B. BECKER

LETTERS FROM THE ENGLISH ABBOTS TO THE CHAPTER AT CÎTEAUX, 1442–1521. Edited by *C. H. Talbot.* [Camden Fourth Series, Volume IV.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1967. Pp. 282.)

THIS volume presents in printed form the extant letters from the abbots of the Cistercian houses in England to their superior, the abbot of Cîteaux, during the years from 1442 to 1521. Of the many more that are missing, the author believes most of these were destroyed in 1636 by the army of Emperor Ferdinand II that pillaged the abbey of Cîteaux. Others disappeared during the period of the French Revolution. No responses from the abbot of Cîteaux have survived, which leads one to suspect deliberate destruction by Henry VIII's commissioners lest these and other documents disprove, at least to subsequent generations, the validity of the charges brought against the English Cistercians.

The editor confesses that the "content of the letters is in some way less revealing than we should have liked." He traces this lack of information to the preference of abbots to entrust important matters to messengers who could be depended upon to keep them confidential, when this was advisable, or to discuss them at greater length than would be practical by letter. A more obvious reason for the failure of these letters to reveal more information is their small number. Only 140 have survived, and almost 75 per cent of these deal with the years between 1479 and 1500.

What information the letters do provide the editor considers of "immense importance" since this is "the sole material we have for judging the state of the Cistercians in England during the fifteenth century. . . ." That this is an overstatement is evident from Jeremiah O'Sullivan's treatment of England in *Cistercian Settlements in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1140–1540* (1947). These letters do, however, relieve the generally gloomy picture that other sources paint of the condition of the English Cistercians, and they make it clear "that most of the houses, though depleted in numbers and burdened with debts, sheltered many

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men of the highest ideals. . . ." The editor could have enhanced the value of the letters by providing more informative introductions. His long index will aid the scholar interested in identifying proper names.

Pennsylvania State University JOSEPH DAHMUS

MARIE DE BOURGOGNE: TÉMOIN D'UNE GRANDE ENTERPRISE À L'ORIGINE DES NATIONALITÉS EUROPÉENNES. By *Yves Cazaux*. (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1967. Pp. 374. 24 fr.)

FOR those concerned with the dynastic politics of late medieval Europe, the career of Mary of Burgundy has an understandable interest. Heiress of the last Valois duke, Charles the Bold, wife of Maximilian of Habsburg, and grandmother of the future Charles V, she is perhaps archetypical of that system of family alliances so characteristic of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One welcomes, therefore, this new study of her life.

Cazaux's book will, nevertheless, disappoint scholars, for it is designed more for the general reader than for the specialist. Indeed, Cazaux himself is not a historian; rather, his career has been spent in the French governmental bureaucracy. It is not surprising, then, that his approach should frequently betray the outlook and attitudes of the amateur. He has an especial fondness for the purely narrative and the colorful detail. While the institutional and financial structure of the Burgundian state hold little interest for him, he lovingly describes such things as the room where Mary was born (hung in green satin and silk, with two beds and a chair embroidered in gold) and the condition of Charles the Bold's body when discovered on the field at Nancy (nude, mutilated, and frozen to the ground). Since there are neither footnotes nor bibliography, the sources for these little tidbits remain obscure.

Within the limits Cazaux set for himself, however, he has done an adequate job. The narrative is detailed and generally accurate, and Mary's skill in countering the ambitions of Louis XI is made everywhere apparent. If Cazaux does not succeed in answering the questions that a scholar might raise, that was not his intention; hence, he should not be judged too harshly for his silence.

Dartmouth College CHARLES T. WOOD

Modern Europe

THE CAMBRIDGE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE. Volume IV, THE ECONOMY OF EXPANDING EUROPE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. Edited by *E. E. Rich* and *C. H. Wilson*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xxxii, 642. $14.50.)

THIS is the first of two projected volumes on the creation and nature of the world economy that was brought into being and given a lasting coherence by the European discovery of the world. It is frankly dedicated to the proposition that the resulting world economy was essentially as European in its institutions and concerns as it was in its origins.

A chapter on demographic history by Karl F. Helleiner is the first synthesis offered. Based on the standard works of Karl J. Beloch, Günther Franz, Albert

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Girard, and Roger Mols, it summarizes for the first time in English the latest judgments on the effects of the Black Death upon population decline in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, on the inexplicable demographic advance of the sixteenth century, on the dramatic population losses suffered by seventeenth-century Germany and Spain, and on the background and course of the "vital revolution" of the eighteenth century. While Helleiner discourses on certain of the causal factors behind population change, he pays too little attention, in my view, to the possible relationships in the eighteenth century between an increased and stable food supply and population advance.

A. Rupert Hall next writes learnedly on the relationships between theoretical science and technology. He concludes that in the main they evolved independently until the latter half of the eighteenth century when an effective liaison between the two helped to produce inventions fundamental to the Industrial Revolution. He considers that the empirical technician was socially more useful through the inventions and techniques that he contributed to business, industry, and trade than was the rationalistic scientist. While it might seem farfetched to include an essay on the history of science in this volume, it should be welcomed as a useful extension of the definition of "economy."

In his chapter on transport and trade routes, J. H. Parry gives the best general statement in English, based on Braudel's superb work, on the Mediterranean as a trading center. In discussing the Northern European commerce, he makes incisive comparisons between the products and problems of the northern and southern regions. Parry has an unequaled and detailed knowledge of the history of sailing vessels and other means of transport, and his treatment of this subject will clarify many technical problems that have long been ignored or misunderstood by both the general historian and the specialists on expansion.

European economic institutions, especially the chartered companies, are the subject of the chapter by E. L. J. Coornaert. His presentation, in contrast to that usually advanced by English writers, stresses the decline of Italy rather than the rise of the Atlantic seaboard states as one of the most fundamental results of the discoveries. He emphasizes particularly the relationships of the chartered companies to their feudal backgrounds. Their charters, medieval documents in themselves, required that they accept the suzerainty of the state and fulfill obligations as vassals; they also empowered the companies to grant fiefs. In analyzing the membership of the chartered companies he throws new light on the role of the aristocracy in their foundation and administration, and he also makes some clear distinctions between the regulated companies and the joint-stock companies that should illuminate this complex problem for future writers of textbooks.

G. B. Masefield provides a tantalizing account of the introductions into Europe, Africa, and Asia of crops and livestock from the New World. He also makes a gallant effort to examine the economic effects of crop dispersal upon European life. But nowhere in this chapter, or indeed in this book, is the effect of the introduction of new crops related to the "vital revolution," except coincidentally. It might be worthwhile in the next volume to study comparatively the effect of an increased and stable food supply upon the population advances experienced by Europe and China during the eighteenth century.

E. E. Rich examines problems of colonial settlement and labor. He correctly

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asserts that population pressure was not a significant factor in early colonization. He is especially good on the slave trade and on the role of slave labor in the economic and social development of the Americas. In considering Asia he concerns himself primarily with the Spice Islands and Java, and he has but little to say about the Spanish Philippines, a colony where an altogether unique series of labor problems began to appear late in the sixteenth century.

F. P. Braudel and F. Spooner collaborated to write a survey of price history from 1450 to 1750. Spooner provided the calculations and the thirty-five maps, graphs, and charts; Braudel wrote the interpretive text. The dean of the *Annales* school begins with a sermon to the heirs of Georg Wiebe, François Simiand, and Earl J. Hamilton, which advises them to refrain from bickering about statistical analysis and detail and to address themselves to the problem of making price history more meaningful for general interpretation. Aside from presenting a brilliant summary of the relationship between currency and price trends, Braudel gives the complete historiography of his subject, an area that is neither well understood nor sufficiently appreciated by nonspecialists.

The final chapter, by C. H. Wilson, treats trade, society, and the state. The author makes good sense in contemporary terms of the rationale behind bullionism and mercantilism, subjects that have been debated from Adam Smith to Keynes. Wilson, unlike many commentators and critics, has read the mercantilist writers himself. He successfully rehabilitates the reputation of Thomas Mun and other early English authors who have too often suffered from the unjust attacks of critics. From study of writings, edicts, and contemporary economic practices, he pictures the mercantilists as being neither malevolent nor naïve. Rather, he sees them as serious men who believed that material change could be brought about by organizing human energy rationally and with due regard for the local circumstances, the times, and the commonweal.

Each chapter in this volume stands on its own as a fine synthesis of its subject. All the writers range over the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, thus going far beyond the chronological limits set by the title. Too much concentration on European relations with America leads to a slighting of the role of Asia. A summary chapter that relates the subjects explored here to one another is badly needed; let us hope that the editors will supply one as a conclusion to their second volume.

University of Delhi DONALD F. LACH

INDIVIDU ET SOCIÉTÉ À LA RENAISSANCE. COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL TENU EN AVRIL 1965 SOUS LES AUSPICES DE LA FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES INSTITUTS ET SOCIÉTÉS POUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA RENAISSANCE ET DU MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION NATIONALE ET DE LA CULTURE DE BELGIQUE. [Université Libre de Bruxelles, Travaux de l'Institut pour l'étude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme, Volume III.] (Brussels: Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles. 1967. Pp. 303. 320 fr. B.)

HISTORY journals may need some release from the strict imposition of positivistic models of demonstration upon every type of investigation. Also, some profit

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might accrue from challenging the notion that each inquiry must say something new on a topic, no matter how trivial, before meriting publication. There is a need for periodicals devoted to research in progress and emerging ideas. To exchange insights and hunches about the past might even dispel some of the pomposity of scholarship and restore the joy. To secure a place for the essayist, the amateur, and, above all, the young scholar, the man of new directions or even forgotten paths is essential. Sharing our doubts and misgivings might well establish the values in uncertainty.

Over the last fifteen years French and Italian publications have recorded many open-ended discussions on medieval and Renaissance themes. This volume, an outstanding example of this genre, concentrates upon problems of sixteenth-century history and thought. The papers and the ample discussion of them resulted from an international meeting held in Belgium in April 1965; the contributions, both formal and informal, are of the highest quality. Disagreement spurs the reader to seek his own answers. The range of the presentations includes a polemical piece by Jean-Claude Margolin on Dürer (so frequently the evidence of art history is ignored by Renaissance specialists); a paper by Hyacinthe Brabant on "L'homme malade dans la société de la Renaissance" (syphilis, of course); and two massive studies by Pierre Mesnard and Roland Mousnier on aspects of humanism. Claude Backvis' work on Poland in the Renaissance is intriguing for the possibilities it suggests, as are the contributions of Guido Kisch, Hans Thieme, and John Gilissen on the law and lawyers. But it is the record of discussions held on each of three days that deserves the highest tribute Renaissance scholars can pay to the Renaissance—imitation. *Une petite remarque* is frequently more telling than the grand discourse. The quotation of Henri Busson used by one of the commentators in opposition to the august opinion of Lucien Febvre on the spiritual milieu of the sixteenth century is worth the price of admission: "L'incrédulité est aussi naturelle à l'homme que la tuberculose." The characterization of Erasmus as a "mystique légère," expressions of disdain for Aretino, and frank admissions of ignorance are refreshing. Has anyone taken Wilhelm Fraenger's criticism seriously for years? What fun to be made angry or to hear that a historian is an "unbeliever" who goes to church nowadays to see the art. There is hope for us all.

University of Rochester MARVIN B. BECKER

THE RUTTERS OF THE SEA: THE SAILING DIRECTIONS OF PIERRE GARCIE. A STUDY OF THE FIRST ENGLISH AND FRENCH PRINTED SAILING DIRECTIONS, WITH FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS. By *D. W. Waters*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 478. $25.00.)

RUTTERS (a corruption of the French *routiers*) were books of sailing directions that guided British mariners in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sailing directions were one of the cornerstones on which the science of navigation was built, and they played a significant role in nurturing the sea power that helped to establish and maintain those great European colonial empires so recently liquidated.

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The origins of rutters can be traced, somewhat tenuously, to the peripli that were used by the pilots of classical Greece in navigating the Mediterranean Sea. They evolved, more directly, from notes recorded by shipmasters and supplemented through discussions with other mariners in salty portside taverns. After printing was perfected, some of the compilations were issued in book format. That rutters, and other sailing directions, were needed is apparent from the many editions that were issued. Surviving copies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century guides are exceedingly rare because, as the author of this volume observes, they were "compiled for practical use by men who were trading, fishing, or fighting in sailing ships on seas that were often wild and bitter."

The Rutters of the Sea includes facsimiles of three printed sailing directions and one manuscript; they are the earliest known French and English navigation guides. The *Rutter of the See* (1557) is presented first "since, from the point of view of the development of the art of navigation in England . . . [it] is of the greatest interest. . . . It is followed by *Le Routier de la Mer* [1502–10], and that by the text of the fifteenth-century English manuscript [1461–83]; the text of . . . *Le Grant Routtier* [1521] comes last."

Admiral Waters, the author-editor of this large and handsome volume, is curator of navigation and astronomy at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England. In an authoritative introduction and a series of appendixes he summarizes "the origins of sailing directions . . . , describe[s] how they were compiled in medieval times . . . , show[s] some of the directions which certainly have a common source, . . . compare[s] the arrangements of the sailing directions here printed with those in modern pilot books; clarif[ies] obscurities relating to depth, distance and direction caused by nautical techniques and terminologies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; explain[s] the object and scope of the glossary and its related chart of the area, and . . . outline[s] the medieval methods of determining and expressing time."

We are also indebted to Henry C. Taylor, who is interested in studying and collecting early sailing guides and directions. He supplied the originals for two of the facsimiles used in the book and supported its preparation and publication. For the benefit of scholars, Taylor notes in his foreword that "all my early navigation and Americana books either have been deeded to Yale University or will be willed to Yale, and the rutters referred to in this book will, therefore, be known as the Taylor-Yale copies."

Library of Congress WALTER W. RISTOW

STORIOGRAFIA UMANISTICA E MONDO BIZANTINO. By *Agostino Pertusi*. [Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Quaderni, Number 5.] (Palermo: the Istituto. 1967. Pp. 128. L. 3,000.)

THIS volume, written by one of the foremost Byzantine historians, deals with the origins and development of the study of Byzantine history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It marks a significant advance over earlier books by Gerland and others because, for the period under consideration, the author makes a resolute, sustained, and successful attempt to see the development of Byzantine

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historiography as part of general European intellectual history and to relate it to the great issues of the humanist period.

The factors that, according to Pertusi, explain the interest in Byzantine history in early modern Europe include: the Turkish danger, the discovery of the Greek and Byzantine worlds by the humanists, the incipient concern for world history, and the attention paid by reformers and counterreformers to the Eastern Church. He shows that, as late as the Italian *quattrocento,* Byzantine history was generally neglected because Italian humanist historians disliked the providential theme prevailing in Byzantine historiography, as well as the idea of empire that reminded them of the Northern European masters of Italy. In the North, the desire to strengthen imperial authority led humanists affected by the ideas of Erasmus, for example Cuspinianus, to use historical materials about Roman, Byzantine, and Western emperors to preach the reconquest of Constantinople from the Turks by the German emperor. It was an interest in German unity in the face of the Turkish danger that inspired the Fuggers to finance and Hieronymus Wolf to conceive of and begin work on the *Byzantinae Historiae Corpus* in 1562. In Germany the effects of this great enterprise remained limited to learned circles, but in Italy, profoundly affected by the spirit of the Renaissance and involved in the struggle against the Turks, translations, popularizations, and even dramatizations of Byzantine historical materials were published in rapid succession. The Counter Reformation then led to a new interest in the traditions of the Eastern Church in the spirit of the "positive theology" that was cultivated, especially in Jesuit circles, first in Italy and later in France. Under the patronage of education by French kings and because of Henry IV's anti-Turkish policies, Jesuits, notably those at the College of Clermont, played a leading role in editing new texts of Byzantine historians and in trying to demonstrate the harmony of Catholic dogma with Byzantine tradition. The crowning achievement of the French school was the great *Corpus Parisinum,* conceived, according to Pertusi, by J. M. Suares rather than by Philip Labbe and published in thirty-two volumes between 1645 and 1711. The completion of this monumental task was due largely to the Benedictine scholars of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, especially to Ducange and Montfaucon. The Louvre edition also provided the impetus for the genealogical, numismatic, and topographical publications of Ducange. Pertusi's book concludes with a general evaluation of the progress made by Byzantine studies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—publication of the principal historical sources and development of the auxiliary disciplines—but it was not until the eighteenth century that general histories of the Byzantine Empire and civilization, notably those of Lebeau and Gibbon, were written.

This important contribution to the general intellectual history of early modern Europe should interest many historians. Specialists in Byzantine history will find in it an explanation of the origins of their field within the general framework of the political and intellectual situation of the humanist world, as well as both substantive and bibliographical information on the founders of their discipline.

University of California, Berkeley PAUL J. ALEXANDER

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DER REGENSBURGER KURFÜRSTENTAG VON 1636/1637. By *Heiner Haan.* [Schriftenreihe der Vereinigung zur Erforschung der Neueren Geschichte E. V., Number 3.] (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1967. Pp. xix, 304. DM 54.)

THE electoral meeting that Emperor Ferdinand II called at Regensburg in 1636 to procure the election of his son, the King of Hungary, as King of Rome has significance beyond the immediate problems of imperial politics in the Thirty Years' War. Shortly before the meeting took place, the open entrance of France into the war in May 1635 had internationalized the conflict, while the Peace of Prague, concluded in the same month, seemed to prepare the way for a resolution of the religious and constitutional issues within the Empire. The time appeared opportune for an assertion of what Heiner Haan calls "the idea of Austrian Reason of State." Five Electors attended the meeting, including Saxony, who had just joined the Emperor's side (the archbishop of Trier was in imperial captivity and was excluded; the King of Bohemia was, of course, the very man for whose election the college was being convoked). Discussions among the Electors and their advisers, and negotiations between Electors and Emperor, covered the entire chain of issues that now defined the European and German struggle: relations with France, Sweden, England, and the Estates General of the Netherlands; problems arising from papal attempts to bring an end to the war, such as whether the *Curia* would negotiate with Protestant Estates (a point of importance after Prague); the question of amnesty (also acute in the light of Prague); military matters, including undermanned regiments, corrupt officers, lack of discipline, and spoliation of the population; the recognition of the college of Electors as agent of the Empire; and, of course, the election of the future Ferdinand III.

The outcome has, as stated by C. V. Wedgwood, usually been seen as "a decisive demonstration of imperial unity in Germany" and "the highest point of Austrian imperial power." When one looks at events in greater detail, however, he finds the interpretation often blurs. Haan's study, originally a Bonn dissertation under the direction of Max Braubach, attempts a sweeping reassessment of the generalization through an examination of all relevant archival and printed materials. The results oblige us to adopt a somewhat less positive view of Habsburg policy and its consequences. Hopes for achieving peace in Europe were frustrated, while negotiations with the English proved fruitless. If it had really been Ferdinand's object to convert the Empire into a true monarchy on the Spanish model, as claimed by Adam Wandruszka and Fritz Dickmann, the attempt was a failure. Ferdinand's own conduct at the meetings betrays no such ambition: "in confronting the Electors he acted hesitantly and seemed unsure of himself." Not only was Ferdinand dependent on the Electors on this occasion; the imperial concept itself was also lacking. "Imperial politics were carried on in the absence of any coherent principles of action." There was no trace of any design to make the crown the center of the Empire's will and purpose. The Electors, for their part, showed the usual reluctance to abandon their special interests in favor of a common constructive initiative when coping with the great external and internal questions facing the Empire, its territories, and its cities. It is, in other

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words, the same old story, and Haan's new study documents it abundantly and tells it well.

Indiana University GERALD STRAUSS

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: OVERSEAS RIVALRY, DISCOVERY AND EXPLOITATION. By *Glendwr Williams*. (New York: Walker and Company. 1966. Pp. x, 309. $6.50.)

DR. Williams' specialized works on the Northwest Passage and on Anson's voyage have already contributed substantially to the recent, rapid advance in the study of European expansion during the eighteenth century. Having thus helped to make a general restatement of the subject necessary, he has now produced, and students and teachers at all levels will welcome the appearance of, a clear and compact account that successfully incorporates the findings of a wide range of modern research. Here, to cite only a few examples, they will find the modern and more convincing interpretation of Dupleix's career in India, an infinitely better treatment of Iberian America than would have been possible ten years ago, and, as might be expected, an expert chapter on the opening of the Pacific. The difficult problems of the peace negotiations of 1762–1763 and 1782–1783 are judiciously handled in the light of recent studies; modern views also help to set the abolitionist movement in its economic and political context. The book's arrangement is broadly chronological, and, as the author frankly admits, its perspective is European, with the emphasis falling decisively on the Anglo-French struggle for world power. This approach unifies the various themes and makes the book eminently readable, both because of the strong narrative current and the detailed treatment of the successive wars. Such an approach does not perhaps fully reflect the trend of modern work on eighteenth-century colonialism, and some readers may regret that Williams has not permitted himself any extensive discussion of the character of the colonial societies or of the economic and cultural interactions of Europe and the wider world. Such major topics are subordinated to the main account of imperial rivalries, as are the structural aspects of the colonial empires themselves. The book does, however, contain a description of the empires at the end of the seventeenth century and illuminating passages on mercantilism, sea power, and imperial administration.

Judged, as it should be, according to its intention, it is a reliable and thoughtful survey. The descriptive bibliography, arranged according to the chapters of the book, will be particularly useful for students, and both author and publishers are to be congratulated on the admirable quantity and quality of the illustrations.

University of Hull K. R. ANDREWS

ZUM DEUTSCHEN RUSSLANDINTERESSE IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT: E. M. ARNDT UND VARNHAGEN VON ENSE. By *Günther Wiegand*. [Kieler historische Studien, Number 3.] (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag. 1967. Pp. 282. DM 43.)

RUSSIA'S important role in early nineteenth-century Europe naturally attracted the interests of Germans when their destiny was intertwined with their eastern

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neighbor. The noted publicist Ernst Moritz Arndt was no exception. He initially used Russia as a minor vehicle of pet theories of race and history: the influence of the desire for seaports, the effect of climate, and the need to keep within "natural boundaries." Before 1811, Russia was to him an example of barbarism. Later, however, he increasingly saw it in the light of German *kleindeutsch* interests. During the wars of liberation he had his sole personal experience with Russia; for five months in 1812–1813 he was in the pay of Alexander I and saw the Tsar as the liberator of Europe. From the first Treaty of Paris Arndt's attitude changed, and it became bitterly hostile toward the end of his long life. None of these conclusions are surprising and, at best, deserve summary in an article. That the idiosyncratic Arndt's critique was "typical" of the educated of his time and "exemplary" of their view of Russia is asserted by Wiegand, but not proven.

Unlike Arndt, Karl August Varnhagen von Ense knew the language, but never visited Russia. As a promoter of its literature, he was more interested in the country and knew more of its inhabitants for a longer period of time. But why he, whose view of Russia was determined by his liberal and democratic preconceptions, is selected over others for a very brief comparison with Arndt is never made clear.

Wiegand has shown great industry in going through the varied published sources, and he often produces a shrewd *aperçu*. He was not, unfortunately, given sufficient editorial advice. For example, discussion of Arndt's views, the author's methodology, sources of Arndt's thought, his bibliography, and the historiography of Peter the Great follow one another helter-skelter; no attempt is made to distinguish what belongs in text, preface, footnotes, or appendixes; quotations are often repeated within a page or two of one another; long lists of Russians Arndt met are given with little attempt to relate them to his ideas. The author's discursive style is not made more palatable by the frequent use of "I" and "We."

In short, this reworked dissertation has little to offer the scholar.

Duke University FREDERIC B. M. HOLLYDAY

EUROPA E ITALIA NEL 1855–1856. By *Ennio Di Nolfo*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Series 2, Memorie. Volume XXV.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1967. Pp. xii, 543.)

THIS book will probably be recognized as the most authoritative and definitive study of the Italian question in European diplomacy for the Crimean War period. While it devotes 450 pages to just the two years of 1855 and 1856, it more than replaces Valsecchi's earlier excellent study of the *Alleanza di Crimea* because it carries the treatment into the war and beyond the peace congress and utilizes all the new European archival collections and published monographs of the last twenty years. Di Nolfo's elucidation of the policies and plans of Cavour and Napoleon III is particularly valuable. At this early stage Cavour was trying to feel his way toward a cautious and moderate policy for liberating Italy under Sardinian auspices. The author likewise discerns why Napoleon III wanted

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national self-realization in Europe: he could thereby revise French boundaries of 1815 and remove Austrian influence in Italy. The theme naturally revolves around Cavour and his negotiation of the alliance, as well as his efforts to make Sardinia's voice heard during the war, in the peace preliminaries, and in the peace congress. Sardinia's influence rose and fell in inverse ratio to Austria's, and Cavour devised elaborate plans for territorial acquisitions in northern Italy and for reforms in the legations, only to have to settle finally for a congress session devoted to Italy and for ineffective protests to Rome and Naples. The overall story is not changed too much, but the new details and insights provided are invaluable. While Di Nolfo's interpretation is clearly pro-Italian and pro-Cavour, it is convincing in the light of the widely gathered evidence he uses. His thorough treatment of the views of each of the congress delegates on the Italian question is just one example of the many contributions made by this study. Everyone, even the Austrians and the French secretary of the congress, Benedetti, was critical and scornful of Walewski, the president of the congress. Cavour remarked: "Il est impossible d'avoir à faire à un ministre plus faux, plus léger, plus inepte que lui. Sa conduite au Congrès a révolté tout le monde. . . ."

The appendix contains fifty-three previously unpublished documents drawn from the official and private archives of four different countries. French quotations are not translated into Italian, but those in English and German are. There are two small disappointments in an otherwise outstanding historical work: there is no bibliography except in the scattered footnotes, and there is no initial list of his well-chosen documents in the appendix.

University of Pennsylvania LYNN M. CASE

EUROPE, 1880–1945. By *J. M. Roberts*. [A General History of Europe.] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1967. Pp. xv, 575. $7.95.)

THIS is the eleventh volume in a series, edited by Professor Denys Hay of the University of Edinburgh, that deals with the history of Europe since the decline of the ancient world. Not only does the book cover political affairs; it also surveys cultural attitudes and social changes, including such phenomena as films, radio, modern art, literature, and philosophy. These of necessity are brief presentations; they are at times little more than enumerations. The chapters dealing with economic matters, particularly problems of demography, are among the best. The author does not deal with the small states except as they impinge on the Great Powers since, so far as general trends are concerned, "their history recapitulates that of the major states." While not everyone will agree with the allotment of space, each author does have the privilege of writing his own book.

In a volume that at times becomes rather encyclopedic and then again abounds in generalizations, there are sure to be some debatable points. This work apparently is designed not only for the general reader but as a text. Should students not be given a word of explanation as to why the numerical wartime strength of the Russian Army was smaller than that of Germany? Were the Russians really surprised by the German lease of Kiao-Chow? Did Spain and Italy rank next in importance to Great Britain and France among the constitutional states

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of Europe after 1880? "Björko was the outcome of impulse and sentiment," but there is no explanation of the incident. Germany cannot be classed as a constitutional state, but Bülow's "fall was the high-water mark of German parliamentarianism." There is no mention of the Serbian-Bulgarian alliance of 1904, and one would like to know more about the secret treaty between Austria and Bulgaria after the annexation crisis. Various points made by the author in regard to the outbreak of World War I provoke comment: Austria had no reason to believe that Italy would not come to its aid; Russia mobilized only those forces that were to be used in a war with Austria-Hungary; Germany encouraged Austria after the Serbian answer to the ultimatum had been received. Surely the occupation of the Ruhr was as much a defense of the peace settlement with arms as the incident at Chanak, which, by the way, is never adequately explained. Regarding Nazi Germany, is it accurate to say that the labor front did nothing or that the historic subdivisions of Germany were abolished in 1933? Five sentences suffice to cover the church struggle in Germany, which seems inadequate in view of the fact that the churches were the only organizations to resist successfully Hitler's *Gleichschaltung*. To write that "only in 1944 were some soldiers and a few relics of the Centre party to act against Hitler" seems indeed incredible.

The volume has helpful, brief chapter bibliographies, although many readers will question some of the choices and the evaluations. The eight maps are simple and clear; the one on page 317 needs revision as to "territories passing to states existing before 1914." The book presents in some cases novel points of view and good analyses, but it does not satisfy the needs of either of its audiences. It is not sprightly enough reading to fascinate the general reader, and as a text it assumes a wider knowledge than most undergraduates have.

Bowdoin College E. C. Helmreich

DIE PREUSSISCH-DEUTSCHE POLENPOLITIK, 1885/87: EINE STUDIE ZUR HERAUSBILDUNG DES IMPERIALISMUS IN DEUTSCHLAND. By *Joachim Mai*. [Veröffentlichungen des Historischen Instituts der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald, Number 1.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1962. Pp. 231. DM 12.)

Minority problems in the pre-1914 European empires attract perennial interest. They display the ironic aspect of nationalism as the basis of civic agreement: the oppressed minority and the "sovereign majority" appeal to the same political principle. This does not bother the East German author, whose Marxist-Leninist outlook enables him to consider the Polish national struggle simply a stage in the higher struggle for working-class emancipation.

Professor Mai concentrates on two episodes in German-Polish relations: the Prussian measures for expelling illegal Russo-Polish and Austro-Galician migrants in 1885–1886; and the background and immediate consequences of the Prussian land settlement law of April 26, 1886. This law authorized a royal commission to buy out Polish landowners in an effort to colonize Prussia's eastern provinces with more German settlers. Other anti-Polish measures enacted in 1886–1887 also come under brief scrutiny. These included school and language regulations

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to ensure that a wholly German corps of teachers gave German-language instruction in all subjects, including religion. Supplementary ordinances strengthened the German bureaucracy by excluding Polish professional men (doctors, particularly) from public appointments, while a calculated increase in the number of circle administrations multiplied the resident German officeholders.

The narrative oscillates between crude Marxist-Leninist generalizations and absorbing details gleaned by patient research in four major archives. By overlooking the ideological banalities, an informed reader can profit from the details. Bismarck's compelling political interest, that is, his personal indifference to nationalistic motives, comes through clearly. It is also instructive to learn about his deliberate effort to subordinate the evangelical-Protestant aspects of the Prussian monarchy's struggle with its Polish subjects. And it becomes evident how Bismarck intensified the bureaucratic effort by shifting responsibility from the Ministry of Cults to the Ministry of the Interior. Police reports analyzed by the author also yield substantial information about the beginning of the Social Democratic movement in the eastern provinces, particularly in Posen.

These gleanings do not offset the major flaws. The author builds a false case by persistently overestimating the effectiveness of the Prussian government's repressive measures. Its colonization effort proved very disappointing, an outcome to which the author alludes but which he ignores in reaching his ideological conclusions. No hint is given that Germans living in the eastern provinces did not agree about the propriety of the land acquisition measures. Nothing is said about the gains registered by Polish townsmen as storekeepers and craftsmen. This omission is surprising since the author does survey Polish countermeasures—the savings societies, cooperatives, protest assemblies, and press campaigns. All were countermeasures save one, that being the solidarity assured by a common religion. These omissions, together with a persistent effort to form issues and events in an ideological mold, limit the book as history. At best it provides a gloss to be used selectively.

Hunter College WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF WESTERN EUROPE, 1945–1964. By *M. M. Postan.* (London: Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1967. Pp. 382. Cloth $7.50, paper $4.00.)

PROFESSOR Postan's new book should be called a survey rather than a history. The main emphasis is upon the last decade, and, if used in conjunction with the UN's *Economic Survey of Europe since the War* (1953) and Ingvar Svennilson's *Growth and Stagnation of the European Economy* (1954), it provides the basic empirical materials of an economic history.

This is hardly a criticism of Postan. Indeed, I recommend this book to any interested reader. The author provides a concise survey of the main results of research in areas that have interested economists: growth of GNP, productivity, industrial production, changes in industrial organization, entrepreneurship, income distribution, wage levels, class structures, government programs in agriculture and industry, and much more. It would be difficult to do a better job.

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The detailed analysis concentrates on Britain, although the other countries of Western Europe, especially France and Germany, are treated adequately. A great variety of background material is covered, and the main results stem from monographs, papers in the learned journals, and publications of governments and international institutions. That which is treated lightly—details on monetary matters, institutional changes associated with the Common Market, and so forth—can be easily acquired elsewhere.

As is to be expected from Postan, there are both originality in the discussion and subtlety in the selection of subject matter. Postan's canvas is wide, and he has dared to draw conclusions. I found the book fresh and enlightening.

Northwestern University J. R. T. Hughes

LONDON CONSISTORY COURT WILLS, 1492–1547. Edited by *Ida Darlington*. [London Record Society Publications, Volume III, for the year 1967.] ([London:] the Society. 1967. Pp. xxv, 206.)

This volume is composed of one register drawn up by the Consistory Court of London, containing wills made between 1492 and 1520, and a group of separate wills dated between 1508 and 1547. The dates given are a bit misleading, however; only 3 of the 95 wills in the register, labeled Palmer, were written before 1513, and 128 of the 151 separate wills, between 1538 and 1545. Most of the testators in the first group were priests; nearly all in the second were laymen. They did share one quality, however: they were not rich, celebrated, or powerful. A few were able to dispose of goods of considerable value—one priest made bequests worth about £150 in 1517—but most left estates that were modest or meager. Little real property is referred to, and many testators had only their bedding, a few articles of clothing, and odd bits of household goods to give away. One looks, largely in vain, for familiar names, though there are minor bequests to Matthew Parker, William Roper, and a daughter of Sebastian Cabot. Still, the wills often reflect the style in which the early sixteenth-century Englishman lived, much about his manner of dress, his customs in furnishing his house and cooking his food; even his habits of thought can be constructed from the things he left behind. A few wills include detailed inventories of household goods that prove very interesting. It is noteworthy, considering the time period into which most of the wills fall, that few reflect Lutheran influence, and the language of most dedications, to Almighty God, the Virgin Mary, and the holy company of heaven, is conspicuously conservative. The later wills do show a marked decline in the number of gifts for prayers for the safety of the soul and a growing interest in charitable bequests. The most interesting single will is that of a wandering Spaniard who provided for both a legal and a slave wife and children by each.

The volume has been carefully edited, although explanatory notes on obsolete terms are scanty. An excellent introduction summarizes the history of the documents and assembles something of a composite picture of the testators.

George Washington University Robert W. Kenny

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THE SECULAR CLERGY IN THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN, 1495–1520. By *Margaret Bowker*. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series, Volume XIII.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 253. $7.50.)

THIS is not the narrow monograph its title suggests. Instead, it is a study in depth of the condition of the English Church on the eve of the Reformation. Through a careful and detailed analysis of diocesan and local records, Mrs. Bowker provides essential material support for conclusions based hitherto on the more general evidence of the humanist critics, the diatribes of polemicists like Simon Fish, and isolated cases such as that of Richard Hunne, to explain the lack of popular opposition to Henry's course of action and the well-nigh unanimous acceptance of the religious revolution by the secular clergy.

Reform was long overdue. The poverty of vicar and curate was acute, their education minimal, and the fabric of the parish churches sadly deteriorated. Yet the wealth of the diocese, indeed the wealth of the Church as a whole, was there for all to see. While lay interests, including the crown, were often at fault, as was true later under Elizabeth, for these pre-Reformation years, the regular clergy must shoulder the greater blame. In the diocese of Lincoln religious orders controlled nearly half the patronage. And, like their lay contemporaries, they regarded such patronage as a source of income rather than as a pastoral responsibility. Equally serious was the condition of the Church courts. Absentee bishops, with no pastoral experience themselves, delegated judicial functions to men well trained in civil and canon law but wholly ignorant of pastoral needs, legalistic rather than spiritual in their view of office and duty. An impoverished and ignorant clergy and a people without religious instruction worthy of the name could hardly be expected to react strongly against the changes that came in the 1530's.

Unfortunately for the English Church, constitutional changes and later doctrinal changes were not accompanied by economic, judicial, or pastoral reform. What so deeply concerned the Elizabethan reformer Edmund Grindal were the same conditions that existed in the diocese of Lincoln in the years 1495–1520.

The author has avoided the common mistake of assuming that her readers are fully acquainted with ecclesiastical organization and administration. Her lucid treatment of the collegiate churches, and especially the vast establishment that was the cathedral of Lincoln, should be extremely enlightening to the lay historian. Indeed a major value of the book may be precisely here. While it is a study in ecclesiastical history of vital interest to the author's colleagues in the field, it will be equally useful to students of social, economic, and institutional history.

Denison University W. M. SOUTHGATE

HENRY VII: THE FIRST TUDOR KING. By *Eric N. Simons*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1968. Pp. xiii, 322. $7.00.)

BURGHLEY: TUDOR STATESMAN, 1520–1598. By *B. W. Beckingsale*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1967. Pp. x, 340. $10.00.)

THE difficulties in writing sixteenth-century biography are legion. If the sources, or lack of them, do not defeat the biographer, characterization almost surely will. These two biographies, one concerning a Tudor king, Henry VII, the other,

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a Tudor statesman, William Cecil, lord Burghley, provide examples of both failure and success. Mr. Simons writes well, but he is not familiar with the important periodical contributions of Professor J. R. Lander on the Council and attainder and of Dr. B. P. Wolfe on economics and administration. He does not, moreover, footnote, and such odd statements that John of Gaunt, the father of Henry IV, had no male heirs until he married his third wife mar his text. Until a modern, scholarly biography is written, students should consult the more solid translation of Wilhelm Busch, *England under the Tudors: King Henry VII* (1895; reprint, 1967), not Simons' romantic characterization of Henry's "vigorous and arresting personality."

It is a measure of Mr. Beckingsale's success that the voluminous materials on Cecil, both printed and manuscript, neither engulf the author nor threaten to submerge his subject in complicated foreign affairs as is partly the case in the late Conyers Read's two volumes, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (1955) and *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (1960). Cecil emerges as a believable human being, a conservative in his politics and his policies, more Protestant than his Queen, a good family man who raised two sons, Thomas and Robert, and a collector and patron of the arts. The portrait is one of a statesman acutely aware of the ideological nature of the Catholic-Protestant confrontation whose sympathies were pro-Protestant, of a man not quite a politique, who reconciled his religion to his policy, but did not thereby sacrifice his religious principles. Fortunately for Cecil, he could usually advance England's diplomatic objectives through supporting continental Protestantism and opposing its Catholic kings.

In achieving his sympathetic characterization Beckingsale is well served by an easy style, liberally sprinkled with Cecil's bons mots, and a slightly new type of organization, affected by some texts, that alternates narrative with critical analyses. For example, the four concluding chapters analyze Cecil as statesman, administrator, patron, and dynast. Obviously these analyses permit a more balanced view and help the author order and compress his materials, but a work that is just as obviously quarried for the most part from printed works cannot uncover much that is new. The author also occasionally finds himself trapped by the terminology of the trade. On the one hand, he accepts Elton's bureaucratic revolution under Thomas Cromwell, and, on the other, he maintains that Cecil, working a generation later, lacked a bureaucracy. Nor has he added much to our knowledge of the workings of the Exchequer and Cecil's patronage there, a subject that needs much investigation. This is of little importance, however, for Cecil's loyalty, patriotism, humanism, and pet enthusiasms emerge to demonstrate Beckingsale's mastery of the biographical art.

State University of New York, Buffalo MELVIN J. TUCKER

THE ELIZABETHAN COURT OF CHANCERY. By *W. J. Jones.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 528. $14.40.)

THE history of the judicial activity of the Chancery before the late seventeenth century is substantially unwritten. Professor Jones's book represents a significant advance. Certain faults of structure and manner qualify, but by no means destroy, its usefulness.

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To say that the history of Chancery law—that is, equity—is unwritten does not mean that it has not been written about. The point is that reconstruction of what the court actually did with the cases before it, in various periods and in each of many fields of law, has made only a scant and scattered start. Unlike the history of the common law, the history of equity cannot be reconstructed from reports. It is necessary to turn to a body of records whose vast and refractory nature Jones is uniquely able to appreciate. No single general book could possibly *be* the history of Elizabethan equity. Jones's work neither is nor pretends to be. But by not doing more than he does with substantive law, Jones confronts himself with the problem of writing *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark. I do not mean to suggest that the reader will not learn much about the substantive activity of the court. He is not, however, supplied with exact, technical legal history in a single area of that activity, including those selected for special attention. Though the book is on a much larger, and therefore in its terms more useful, scale than that of any previous work, Jones is still writing around his subject. I think he could have done that more successfully if he had pursued a few topics more exactly, if only as "case studies" informed by his general ideas.

The core of the book is concerned with Chancery procedure. That section is informative, and the decision to concentrate on procedure is legitimate. The discussion is not, however, pitched at a meaningful level. A reader lacking basic knowledge of the English legal system and of characteristic issues in the field of civil procedure will have trouble making sense of Jones's account. On the other hand, a reader possessing that basic knowledge will be disappointed by a lack of rigor. Jones too often cites cases only accessible in the Chancery Proceedings without explaining concretely what the case was about or tracing its connections with other cases on the same point.

My qualifications about Jones's manner of writing legal history do not imply dissent from many of his general judgments or a lack of admiration for his general historical sensibility. Jones is at war with the right enemies. He is concerned to put down the jejune habit of polarizing law and equity and associating the latter with "prerogative" in a loose and pejorative sense. He brings out well the many ways in which law and equity were cooperative components of one legal system. Perhaps occasionally he goes too far. But whatever the truth at points of controversy, Jones has taken a challenging stand. He has not written a definitive book on Elizabethan equity, but he has written an important prolegomenal one. He has provided a foundation for further work in the records, both by furnishing much new information and by advancing suggestions that scholars will have to consider.

University of Chicago CHARLES M. GRAY

HOUSEHOLD AND FARM INVENTORIES IN OXFORDSHIRE, 1550–1590. Edited by *M. A. Havinden.* [Historical Manuscripts Commission JP 10.] (London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1965. Pp. 365. $20.00.)

A MAJOR untapped source for Tudor-Stuart history is inventories of goods and chattels drawn up in connection with probate of wills or grant of administration

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upon intestacy. The source is likely to remain largely untapped for some time because, while the inventories preserved by the principal probate court (the Prerogative Court of Canterbury) were with the other records of that court moved from the fastness of Somerset House to the Public Record Office a few years ago, they are not yet fit for production. Mr. Havinden's excellent transcription and edition of surviving inventories of the Elizabethan period from diocesan and peculiar jurisdictions in Oxfordshire demonstrates how valuable inventories are for social and economic history. While this collection does not permit the construction of a calculus for measuring personal-property wealth with respect to social gradations (I tried this, unsuccessfully), the inventories do provide valuable insight into the levels of material well-being in a rural county and the general improvement in material conditions over the last half of the sixteenth century. Havinden is admirably restrained in his conclusions as to the extent of this improvement, but the documents themselves provide unusually clear evidence of the change. As the editor makes clear, the inventories touch the estates of only five gentlemen or gentlewomen (I would make it seven) and, with one exception, are well down the scale of that group.

More than one-third of the known occupations of the minor testators, predominantly from the northern part of Oxfordshire around Banbury, were artisan, not agricultural, in nature. Havinden demonstrates that the average of the artisans' personal estates was measurably smaller than that of the farmers, accounted for in part by the absence of livestock in the artisans' inventories. Oxfordshire, in common with other counties in the Midlands and the West, experienced sporadic rebellions or risings between the 1580's and the outbreak of the Civil War, often connected with enclosure and generally occurring at times of grain scarcity and high food prices. Prominent among the leadership and providing most of the following of the rebellious "companies" were the artisans. Inventories such as these provide much novel evidence of a quantitative nature to advance the study of this large nonagricultural element in rural society, which played a major role in the erosion of authority and order in early Stuart England, provided the religiously articulate "mechanic preachers" of the Interregnum, and comprised the specific social element that the Levellers sought to enfranchise.

The transcription is a model of careful editing; the glossary of archaic terms is invaluable; the introduction is ample in analysis and tabulation, clear in argument, and a perceptive essay in its own right concerning the various kinds of information furnished by the inventories; and technical slips are few. Some statements in the introduction are unsupported and are at least arguable: what, for example, is the evidence that "many craftsmen and also labourers had a few strips of arable land . . . as well as common grazing rights . . . and pursued a way of life in which the pursuit of their craft in the winter alternated with farm-work in the summer"? The farmer-artisan is, I suspect, largely a myth that blinds us to the fact that the artisan was almost wholly dependent on his labor production in his craft for his sustenance, and he was terribly susceptible to high food prices. Farming he did not and grazing rights he had not, though he might well have put out beasts on common. Enclosure and disafforestation in the Midlands and the West went far toward spawning the violent reactions of the

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artisans in the 1580's, the first decade of the seventeenth century, and the early 1630's.

University of California, Berkeley THOMAS G. BARNES

ELIZABETHANS ERRANT: THE STRANGE FORTUNES OF SIR THOMAS SHERLEY AND HIS THREE SONS, AS WELL IN THE DUTCH WARS AS IN MUSCOVY, MOROCCO, PERSIA, SPAIN, AND THE INDIES. By *D. W. Davies.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 337. $7.50.)

THE Sherleys—Sir Thomas and his three sons—were wealthy Elizabethan gentry who took to careers of adventure at the close of the Queen's reign. The father, who became Treasurer at War when Leicester went to the Low Countries, did his best to fill his pockets out of his office, failed, and ended his life in James I's reign, having bankrupted the family fortunes. The eldest son, another Sir Thomas, pursued a career that mixed piracy with semiprofessional warfare and court intrigue; he finished off the ruin of the family estate begun by his father. The other sons, Anthony and Robert, followed much more exotic careers; both went to Persia, both entered the service of the Habsburgs, one ended his life a pensioner in Spain, and the other died in Persia. Anthony Sherley was an example of the most unscrupulous kind of Elizabethan adventurer: totally unprincipled, ready to turn his hand to anything—espionage, diplomacy, company promotion—filling his pocket by any kind of confidence trick, cheating his way through the world as best he could. Robert Sherley was a man of more honor and more consistency and a fairly faithful servant to the Shah, in whose service much of his life was expended.

Mr. Davies has been diligent in his research and has gathered his material from a variety of archives, English and continental. There have been previous books on the Sherleys, but Davies has garnered far more material than any predecessor. His task is difficult since their adventures led them into so many parts of the world and into so many different and complicated political situations, and, since most of their ventures were not successful, the evidence often is not complete enough to reveal the full outlines of their actions. The author has done his best with rather unpromising material and gives as full an account of their actions as he can, but frequently the result is not really very interesting. Except for Robert Sherley their activities were seldom more than peripheral in historical importance. The author has been almost too conscientious in his scholarly attention to detail and to presentation of the fullest possible evidence. As a result he loses much of the excitement and melodrama of their careers. While the subjects hardly deserve a full-scale historical treatment, their careers might well have held some romantic interest for a wider and more popular audience. The book would be more readable if there were maps to assist the reader in following the journeys of these gentlemen over half the world.

Haverford College WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

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ENTERPRISE & EMPIRE: MERCHANT AND GENTRY INVESTMENT IN THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND, 1575–1630. By *Theodore K. Rabb.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 420. $12.50.)

THIS book is significant since it is the first major attempt to apply computer techniques to the study of a topic in early modern European history, that is, to a period predating the systematic collection of social and economic information. The subject of the book is the body of investors who financed early English overseas expansion, from mid-Elizabethan times until about 1630. Their social origins are explored, and their behavior as investors is examined. Professor Rabb has collected the names of some 6,300 individual investors in joint-stock companies organized for activity overseas (including Ireland). The list of investors includes those subscribing to the more or less straightforward commercial projects such as the East India or Levant Companies and the colonizing organizations such as the Virginia, Massachusetts Bay, Munster or Londonderry Companies. It includes the exploring enterprises (Northwest Passage, for instance) and also the privateers active during Elizabeth's war with Spain and again during the conflicts of the later 1620's. Two domestic undertakings, the Royal Minerals and the Royal Mines Companies, complete the coverage. Rabb has also listed all of the MP's from 1584 through 1628 and examined their investment activities.

The author has used the computer to answer various questions about these investors, including their social origins, the relative distribution of gentry and merchants within companies as well as the relative volume and distribution of their investments, the cycles of interest represented by spurts of new admissions to companies, and the participation of MP's in such investment. Results are compiled in a series of tables. These tables are set within a masterly essay of some one hundred pages, which lays out the conclusions and the implications of the statistical investigation. The resulting conclusions, as the author points out, tend to confirm what might be guessed by a historian with a general knowledge of the problem, but the technique transforms impressionistic guesses into solid and substantiated assertions.

The reader unacquainted with computer technique or with statistical vocabulary need not be daunted, for Rabb has provided a complete and lucid account of his procedure at each stage. He has indicated fully the sources he used for the collection of names and has given a critical estimate of their reliability. He takes the reader into his confidence at each step in his work, laying out fully the problems he encountered and the solutions he adopted. Indeed, the book is not only a study of English investors in the Elizabethan-Jacobean years but also a self-conscious model to serve the needs of other historians venturing into this new technique of investigation. The author has made a convincing case for the usefulness of such an approach in those earlier periods of European history where systematically organized and reasonably complete data are not usually available. He has been sensible and modest in his claims and candid as to the limits of this approach. By now a numerous band of historians is engaged in group biographical studies of one kind or another in early modern European studies. This book makes clear the importance and the feasibility of the computer for their work. It is not that it will somehow revolutionize historical studies or reveal vast unsus-

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pected vistas not yet envisioned. But it will enable historians to deal with questions, the answers to which we can now only surmise; it will save uncounted hours of time; it will yield results of a precision and authority hitherto virtually unattainable.

Haverford College WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

VEXED AND TROUBLED ENGLISHMEN, 1590–1642. By *Carl Bridenbaugh.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 487. $10.00.)

No doubt Clio could have fashioned a better title to describe Shakespeare's Englishmen on the eve of colonization; no doubt Clio never has. Whether more vexed and troubled people upset this half century than any other can be left to the curious; the seedbed of the Great Migration has not been more aptly surveyed, all without benefit of computer. Here is proof that history is about people, how they lived, how they survived, how they worshiped, how they were governed, and what came of their activity. To gain that proof Mr. Bridenbaugh has eaten paper and drunk ink; he has combed hundreds of documents, perused innumerable monographs, many unpublished, and invoked the rich relevance of literature. In weaving such diverse materials he faced a labor greater than any undertaken by Hercules. The Greek hero had only to capture the girdle of Hippolyte; Bridenbaugh has girdled a people who swore by the proverb, that contention is better than peace, and he has done so largely in their own words. That quotation is artistically hazardous is well known, but deftly accomplished it catches the spirit as it recites the fact. It exemplifies and confirms the judgment that the "key to any comprehension of the thinking and behavior of a people is its everyday speech," especially in a time when all ranks indulged in metaphors, when every peasant had "some thrifty hobnail proverb to clout his discourse."

To summarize what Bridenbaugh has included is impossible, not least because he has intersected each topic with others. Where riches abound it is scarcely gracious to note omissions, omissions that come to mind because they parallel what is set forth. Since we have madrigals, could we not have miniatures? Since we have medicine, could we not also have science and law and antiquities? Fifty pamphleteers *are* important, but so are Bacon, Coke, and Camden, the more that they, far from being ahead of their time, were chief among its spokesmen. And what of Lamb's "fantastic old great man," Robert Burton, whose *Anatomy of Melancholy* is a very *summa* of vexed and troubled people? Yet the reader must beware regretting a book that was not intended. He must remember that here is the first of several volumes on the beginnings of the American people and that some topics omitted may well appear later. Whatever his particular interest, the wise historian wants a book that illumines what lies beyond immediate concern: for instance, in discovering the futility of many people's existence one appreciates why Quakers dignified the role of women, stressed vocational training, and created labor exchanges. The book worth study is one that suggests what remains to be done and offers insights into other areas of interest, whether related or not. These standards are high, and no doubt few books reach them; the success of some is sufficient reason for trying, and the present volume illustrates how fruitful the effort may be.

University of Missouri CHARLES F. MULLETT

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DESTINY HIS CHOICE: THE LOYALISM OF ANDREW MARVELL. By *John M. Wallace*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 265. $7.50.)

THAT Andrew Marvell gave his allegiance to Charles I in the Civil War, wrote an ode to Cromwell in 1650, served Charles II after the Restoration, and attacked Charles's court in 1677 are facts well known to most historians of Stuart England. They expose Marvell to the charge of opportunism. It is Professor Wallace's purpose to show that the charge is false, that Marvell was a loyalist, not an opportunist. By "loyalist" Wallace does not mean "royalist." Rather he means a man who accepts the mutability of all things, who longs for peace, who fears chaos, who sees the folly of futile resistance, who cares less about the form a government takes than about the equity it dispenses. He means, above all, a man who accepts the Providence of God, who sees history as providential, who believes that good can come from evil, who makes destiny his choice. Andrew Marvell made destiny his choice, but the great value of Wallace's book lies in its demonstration that many other Englishmen did also. In a brilliant opening chapter, as remarkable for its wide learning as for its close reasoning, the author traces the origins of loyalism, expounds its literature, and shows how it furnished an indispensable strand to the Revolutionary Settlement of 1688. He goes farther. He shows that loyalism was associated with a moderate group in English politics, with men of the center, whose constitutionalism survived the many revolutions of the time. These men may have changed their allegiances, but they did not change their principles. Andrew Marvell hated ecclesiastical tyranny all the days of his life. He never surrendered his respect for the person of the king. He always held to the ideal of a mixed monarchy. He never tempered his dislike for the democratic aspects of the rebellion. He accepted the rulers that God placed over him, but he never surrendered the right to criticize their government.

By perceiving, isolating, defining, and establishing the phenomenon of loyalism, Wallace makes a signal contribution to the history of seventeenth-century England. But his deeply considered and elegantly written study does even more. It brings a vast knowledge of the politics and the rhetoric of the age to bear upon the elucidation of Marvell's political poems, and it uses Marvell's political poems and prose to illuminate the history of the age. The chapters on *An Horatian Ode* and *The First Anniversary* show how valuable it is for a literary critic to know the historical context of a poem. The chapter on *The Rehearsal Transpros'd* and *The Growth of Popery* proves how useful it is for a historian to know the literature of an age. Wallace asks whether the marriage of history and literary criticism has proved a happy one in his book. The answer is yes, and historians are indebted to him for so thoughtful and so ingenious a work.

Ohio State University CLAYTON ROBERTS

ROBERT BARCLAY. By *D. Elton Trueblood*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1968. Pp. xi, 274. $6.95.)

QUAKERS and Quakerism were long suspect and unrespectable. The generation of Robert Barclay (1648–1690) greatly increased the social, economic, political, and intellectual acceptability of the movement. While Barclay, William Penn, Isaac Pennington the Younger, and other Quakers of their generation were men

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of property and as such they possessed those things so often associated with property, Barclay, more than any other, gave the movement intellectual and theological respectability. His writings, which came early in his life, proved to non-Quakers that Quakerism could be far more than mere spiritualism, misguided emotionalism, or ignorance and that it was not, as many had suspected, Jesuitry in disguise. Barclay provided Quakers with a systematic theology that has survived for three centuries and has won the admiration of men of other persuasions. He gained an international reputation for his personal practice, his ministry, and his labors in behalf of peace, brotherhood, and toleration. In addition, Barclay served as governor of East New Jersey.

It is surprising that Robert Barclay has not been the subject of more biographical study, and it is indeed unfortunate that the weak sections of Professor Trueblood's slender volume are those dealing with Barclay's activities as a family man, scholar, prisoner, minister, governor, and courtier. Some of the flaws must be attributed to the obvious fact that Trueblood has attempted too much in too little space. Consequently, the "life" portion is less than half of what would be necessary for an adequate biography. Another set of flaws can only be attributed to the author's lack of familiarity with the history of Barclay's time. Many of Trueblood's statements about events, conditions, and personalities will shock the expert. Some student with a better knowledge of the period and with more space should immediately undertake a full biography of Robert Barclay. Trueblood has located and cited most of the necessary materials. His text, notes, and bibliography will make the task of a biographer relatively easy.

Other portions, comprising more than half of the book, are much more substantial and demonstrate the author's dedication and scholarship. The initial chapter, "Barclay in History," is an excellent and original essay on the changing interpretation and evaluation of Barclay's intellectual and theological contributions throughout three centuries. This chapter should be required reading for students at various levels and in many fields of study. The seven chapters on Barclay's thought require some knowledge of Quaker theology for full understanding and appreciation, but that should not discourage the uninformed from profitably reading the chapters on theology. Trueblood's highly objective and balanced treatment of the controversial aspects of Barclay's thought has advanced some persuasive arguments for the abandonment or modification of some earlier interpretations and applications of Barclay's theology. Some will object to Trueblood's liberal and modernistic approach; others will contend that he is still too conservative and traditional; each, however, will benefit from this welcome addition to the literature on a major figure.

University of North Carolina, Charlotte GEORGE R. ABERNATHY, JR.

THE SAGE OF SALISBURY: THOMAS CHUBB, 1679–1747. By *T. L. Bushell.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1967. Pp. 159. $5.00.)

THIS study of the thought of Thomas Chubb, glover and then chandler by trade and philosopher by inclination, affords a useful addition to our acquaintance with the pious freethinking of his age. In spite of a century's neglect, here attributed at least partially to his lowly origins, Chubb earlier enjoyed a rather

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extensive reputation in Britain, America, France, and even Germany. Following a concise biography of "a protagonist of the age of enlightenment," Mr. Bushell analyzes Chubb's theories as they are found in tracts and discourses on ethics and politics published in the third and fourth decades of the eighteenth century. He then examines Chubb's religious opinions. A brief bibliography of original works and books consulted and an index to the text that does not include material in the notes complete the book.

While they owe something to Richard Hooker, John Locke, and the third Earl of Shaftesbury, Chubb's ethical and political ideas by no means merely repeat their pronouncements. Isaac Newton provided support for the belief that "the heavens declare the glory and wisdom of God, and show the rectitude of his nature." The law of nature was the moral part of the constitution of the universe; the "common happiness" was "the grand design" of God in creation; for this man had an individual responsibility, an agency expecting of him earnest endeavor for good. Reward for virtue was minimized; to overcome partial evil for the universal good was in itself sufficient satisfaction.

Chubb would, he declared, "remove every difficulty which the principle of liberty may be encumbered with." He recognized natural rights, though his fear of contemporary Catholic support for the Stuarts made his statement on toleration less than forthright. Chubb substituted happiness for the third part of the Lockean trinity of life, liberty, and estate, thereby Bushell suggests, anticipating if not influencing, the formulation of Jefferson's more famous phrase. Chubb found a part of political and social liberty in the right of everyone to the fruits of his labor and the reasonable restriction of the employer's use of the worker's skill and strength.

Cherishing a faith in a mind and purpose friendly to the individual, Chubb's religion was more personal than that of some of his contemporaries, even though he questioned the orthodox belief in the Trinity, atonement, original sin, predestination, and the inerrancy of the Scriptures. The environment and period in which Christ taught must, he felt, be studied fully in order to appreciate the Gospel message. For Chubb, salvation lay not in subscription to this or that dogma but in the freedom to pursue self-fulfillment and happiness here and now. Man as an individual struggles to do good and to shun evil, and he was endowed by the creator of the world machine with special intelligence and an autonomous will to achieve virtue.

The work of the "Sage of Salisbury," though sometimes less readable, often seems more sophisticated than many eighteenth-century writers of greater means and education.

Bryn Mawr College CAROLINE ROBBINS

RECORDS OF THE BOROUGH OF LEICESTER. Volume VI, THE CHAMBERLAINS' ACCOUNTS 1688–1835. Edited by *G. A. Chinnery*. [Published under the authority of the Leicester City Council.] ([Leicester:] Leicester University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 581. 84*s*.)

THIS new volume of *Records of the Borough of Leicester* presents the most important source of information on borough finance at Leicester from 1688 to

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1835, when borough government was reorganized. It is unfortunate that the accounts are primitive and incomplete, but there is much to be grateful for.

The Chamberlains' Accounts, kept by two annually elected borough officials (usually junior members of the corporation, as the jobs were not popular), preserve the records of rents, tithes, and other payments to the borough and of taxes, fees, wages, and other sums disbursed. While local historians will find the contents most useful, family historians and biographers will share this interest, especially in the portions printed in full. Leicester's involvement in at least one national event (the Revolution of 1688) receives some illumination.

The accounts are too bulky for complete publication. The editor therefore gives full accounts for eight years (1688–1689, 1708–1709, 1729–1730, 1750–1751, 1771–1772, 1792–1793, 1813–1814, and 1834–1835) with tabular summaries for the entire period. Accounts of the great enclosure of the South Fields (1805–1807) appear complete. Many notes explain the summaries.

The editing apparently meets the highest standards. I look forward to the publication of the next volume of the series, which is to include "a comprehensive survey and discussion of the whole."

Eastern Illinois University GEORGE HILTON JONES

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR JAMES CLAVERING. Edited and arranged by *H. T. Dickinson.* [The Publications of the Surtees Society, Volume CLXXVIII.] (Gateshead: Northumberland Press for the Society. 1967. Pp. xiii, 240.)

THIS small, carefully edited volume gives one the feeling of reading a novel composed entirely of letters written to the principal character. Actually there are only three from the pen of Sir James Clavering himself; they come at the end after he succeeded as sixth Baronet in 1738. Most of the correspondence, originating from Anne Clavering (a distant cousin), from business and legal agents, and from his wife, concerns the first third of the eighteenth century and gives indirect glimpses of the concerns of a North Country landed gentleman and coal owner. For most readers the lively firsthand account of the Sacheverell case will stand out. Other matters such as the game laws, the coal trade, London social life, and physical illnesses are illuminated, and there are opportunities to reconstruct the Baronet's character and to see the legal system at work. For years a puzzling thread runs through Anne Clavering's letters about her half brother "Jacky" until suddenly it is solved by the revelation that Clavering, executor under the will of "Jacky's" father, has apparently misappropriated the money and cannot squirm his way out of the Court of Chancery. Even Lord Chancellor Cowper, Anne's brother-in-law, does not help beyond giving some unofficial advice. The grasping landed gentleman also appears in those letters dealing with the division of certain common lands in the county of Durham. The communications from his poor, terrified wife reflect a brutal, callous, selfish, and unreasonable man. Even on such an inadequate basis it is difficult to resist the temptation to imagine his character, and one can only hope that the unfortunate impression arises from a distorting mirror effect.

Thetford Center, Vermont CHESTER KIRBY

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THE LATER CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE III, PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II. Volume IV, JANUARY 1802 TO DECEMBER 1807. Edited by *A. Aspinall.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. li, 704. $22.50.)

THE restrictions, injunctions, and advantages under which Professor Aspinall edits this correspondence, and which he explains in his prefaces to the first and third volumes, affect the content and usefulness of this volume as they did the earlier ones. Certain significant letters to and from the King are omitted because they are printed elsewhere, and many insignificant ones are included because the editor was "bound . . . to publish practically everything in the King's papers in the Royal Archives." Reviewers of earlier volumes have commented on these decisions (*AHR,* LXVIII [July 1963], 1040; LXIX [Apr. 1964], 821; LXXII [Oct. 1966], 189), and their reviews help in understanding the limitations as well as the size of this volume.

The editor takes excellent advantage of his opportunity, both in this volume as in its predecessors, to include full, informative footnotes and a generous introduction, and these make the volumes valuable to the historian. The letters themselves hardly scratch the surface of war, diplomacy, and domestic politics; alone, they tell little about the history of this period. At one important moment the editor is a victim of circumstances. When Pitt was returning to office in the spring of 1804, the King was ill, and the letters between February 5 and May 5 fill only one page of text. The letters written during the period when Grenville's ministry was forming in 1806 or when Fox died a few months later are of little importance, and so it is with other major events during the six years covered by this volume.

Yet this volume does hold something for the reader. The letters and the notes strengthen the impression, continually acknowledged by contemporaries, that every government needed royal support and that the Catholic question remained of surpassing importance as was shown in March 1807. Though the series will not be completed until the next volume, it is time to say that this later correspondence, joined with the earlier published some years ago, will enable scholars to follow the King unusually closely through fifty years. A good biography of George III is now in order.

University of Kentucky CARL B. CONE

MORVERN TRANSFORMED: A HIGHLAND PARISH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Philip Gaskell.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xix, 272. $10.50.)

PHILIP Gaskell's labor of love is a good local history of an agricultural parish in the western Highlands of Scotland. It is primarily an account of the economic decline during the nineteenth century and the consequent social transformation from the crofters, or small tenant farmers, to the gentlemen-farmers who bought the estates for their summer holidays. The author does not join the hue and cry against the landlords for evicting their tenants, but in sober retrospect he views the evictions as an economic necessity. So long as the crofters were

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content to live in earth-floored cabins and to eat porridge and potatoes, they could survive on their runrig agriculture and cattle raising. With the rise in living standards and the improved methods of agriculture elsewhere, the marginal lands of Morvern could be used profitably only for sheep farming. Even sheep farming had to be abandoned during the depression of the 1870's. The farms thereafter became the holiday estates of wealthy proprietors who subsidized the few remaining residents. Although some sheep farming continues to the present time, much of what was once farm land is now occupied by the Forestry Commission, while some has been abandoned altogether.

In this small volume there are 116 pages of text and 126 pages of appendixes that document and illustrate the author's conclusions. Among the appendixes are diaries, memoirs, estate accounts, and several statistical enumerations. Twenty-four photographs of the terrain, buildings, and people convey the atmosphere that invites all who visit Morvern to return.

The volume also supplies useful biographical information on persons of national prominence. The author has carefully constructed three genealogies of families owning estates at Morvern, the most useful being that of William Smith whose ten children found places among the Victorian intellectual aristocracy. A son, Benjamin, who had a distinguished political career, was the father of Leigh Smith, the explorer, and Madame Bodichon, the benefactor of Girton College; a daughter, Frances, was the mother of Florence Nightingale. Thus the book contributes to our knowledge of the members of the intellectual aristocracy and how they spent their summer holidays in the western Highlands.

Lehigh University RAYMOND G. COWHERD

WESTCOUNTRYMEN IN PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLE: A FRAGMENT OF THE GREAT MIGRATION. By *Basil Greenhill* and *Ann Giffard*. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. 248. $8.25.)

THIS is a tale of two locations—North Devon and Prince Edward Island—and of a series of careers. The subtitle, *A Fragment of the Great Migration,* suggests the early nineteenth-century backdrop of migrating population, lumbering, shipbuilding, and transoceanic trade. The authors discuss the character and methods of the men who took part in these activities and point up connections with the larger movements of the time.

During the Baltic timber famine following the Berlin Decree, Thomas Burnard, a wealthy merchant of Bideford, launched a shipbuilding and lumbering venture in the Richmond Bay area of Prince Edward Island. The resulting industry "was to have a great effect on the Island's prosperity." Although Burnard died in 1823, his nephew Thomas Chanter was able to return to Bideford from the island and to rise to the status of a landed proprietor through business and municipal politics.

Nonethelesss, the "true heir" of Thomas Burnard was James Yeo, a tough "driver" of men from Kilkhampton, Cornwall, who began as one of "the great European poor who had no inheritance" and developed into a "small robber baron." Though a lowly employee, Yeo was able to found his fortune by using rather dubious methods to collect the debts owed to his dead employer. The

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weakening hold of the island's absentee proprietors created an uncertainty over land titles that could be exploited by a tough entrepreneur. As banker, storekeeper, creditor, and confidant in business and private affairs, "a literate man in a largely illiterate society," Yeo "was probably in a stronger position than any merchant in the Colony's history . . . had ever been." Among other things, he served for twenty-nine years as a member of the legislature, where he upheld the proprietary system of landholding and opposed the movement for responsible government.

The ramifications, throughout the North Atlantic area, of Yeo's vast expenditure of energy are traced. As the European headquarters of his enterprise, Bideford provided a steppingstone for his agent and heir William, who climbed to social eminence after a checkered career.

Based upon a variety of sources, this social history provides a case study to support the more general history of Prince Edward Island. In addition, it suggests what may be done with other English West Country connections such as those with Newfoundland.

Memorial University of Newfoundland G. E. Panting

THE WHIGS IN OPPOSITION, 1815–1830. By *Austin Mitchell.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 266. $6.10.)

While this is not a study of Whiggism in the philosophical sense, it is an excellent chapter in party history within the strict limits set by the title, and it is well organized, clearly written, and fully researched. Although the political history of these years has often been told, the author's approach is new, significantly broadening our knowledge of the Whig party and of the political scene. Dr. Mitchell pays less attention to the work of other modern historians in the period, basing his work almost entirely on research in some thirty-nine collections of private papers, additional transcripts from nine other collections, thirty-six contemporary newspapers or periodicals, and the relevant volumes of *Parliamentary Debates.* Curiously, the *Debates,* which he uses extensively, are omitted from the bibliography.

The book is divided into ten chapters, followed by a brief conclusion. The first three of the chapters provide an interesting and highly informative analysis of the Whig party during the period covered in terms of principles, organization, and voting power. "The whigs were the pace-setters of party," Mitchell writes, "because they agreed, broadly, on a set of principles; the government side was a *de facto* party, for though bonds were looser, principles more diffuse, in the last analysis its members wanted to keep the whigs out." Developing this thesis he endeavors to rescue the history of party in the period from what he calls "deep frozen Namier concepts." In the second chapter he further develops a theme that his former mentor, Professor Aspinall, initiated in an article on "English Party Organization in the Early Nineteenth Century" (*EHR,* XLI [July 1926], 389–411). The third chapter contains some significant information about party voting patterns that is based on very detailed analyses of over two hundred division lists and that one would have thought was assembled on punched cards.

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The remainder of the book offers a straightforward political narrative of the fortunes of the Whig party during the years 1815–1830. This is further illustrated by highly sophisticated tables that analyze voting patterns. The strategy and tactics of each session are traced in detail, but Mitchell writes with great economy and resists the temptation to quote extensively from all the original sources he is using. He presumes that the reader is familiar with the men and events of the period, and he seems uninterested in causal explanations. His major concern is to make clear what happened in the parliamentary context and the political consequence of each development. Why Lansdowne and other Whigs accepted office in 1827 is less important for the author than the effect of this event on the fortunes of the Whig party. The result is highly successful, and it should be followed by similar monographs tracing the evolution of the Liberal party in later decades. No satisfactory general history of the party can be written until more such studies are completed.

University of Toronto J. B. Conacher

BRITAIN AND THE BALANCE OF POWER IN NORTH AMERICA, 1815–1908. By *Kenneth Bourne.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 439. $9.50.)

Kenneth Bourne has performed a notable service for students of international history in the nineteenth century by drawing together and analyzing the many and varied strands of British diplomatic and strategic policy toward the United States. This work makes no attempt to sustain a narrative of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the United States from 1815 to 1908. It is essentially a study of British defense policy for North America and its influence on diplomatic relations with the United States. Having thus carefully defined his problem, Bourne has made an exhaustive search of British private and official papers and has utilized American materials at many points "to test the validity of British speculations."

In order to cover such a lengthy time span, Bourne has concentrated on periods and areas of crisis. He devotes special attention to the crises over Texas and Oregon, the *Trent* Affair, and the period of rapprochement and British withdrawal from 1895–1908. While British strategists periodically worked to prepare for war with the United States, the statesmen after 1815 generally acted on the assumption that European dangers were predominant and that cordial relations with the United States were probably the best means of protecting Canada and keeping European rivals out of North American affairs. The two critical points in British realization of the need for American friendship were the Union victory in the Civil War and the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901. The first forced British leaders to conclude that American power could not be contained; the second "committed Great Britain to naval inferiority in American waters and therefore to friendship with the United States." The decisions from 1903 to 1908, which led to the withdrawal of virtually all British military and naval forces from the Western Hemisphere, flowed naturally from the events of 1901.

Two improvements would have made this well-conceived and admirably executed book even more helpful. In a study that focuses on crisis areas separated

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by time and geography, the transitional passages from diplomatic background to more detailed strategic planning should have been given more emphasis, and a critical essay on the varied private and official sources would have been of real value. But in skillfully highlighting the whole range of strategic factors in British policy for North America, Bourne has added a new and extremely valuable dimension to our knowledge of the period.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill SAMUEL F. WELLS, JR.

IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS OF VICTORIAN BRITAIN: ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF GEORGE KITSON CLARK. Edited by *Robert Robson.* (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. viii, 343. $12.50.)

ABOUT half of the essays in this book deal with political and administrative history. D. E. D. Beales assesses the nature and cohesiveness of parliamentary parties in the Age of Peel and usefully points to the 1820's as the period on which work now most needs to be done. Oliver McDonagh, in tracing regulatory legislation for coal mines from 1842 to 1852, makes another important contribution to our understanding of the growth of state activity. One's thought is more likely to be deflected, however, by Norman McCord's proof, in showing the insubstantiality of their political base, how little claim Cobden and Bright have, between 1846 and 1857, to be considered representative men and by J. P. Cornford's perceptive analysis of the Conservative parliamentary party between 1885 and 1905. Cornford marshals statistics to demonstrate the erosion of the landed base of the party and convincingly describes the complex considerations involved in forming a government; the "charmed circle" explanation is drastically modified, and one is led to a better understanding of Balfour's troubles. D. C. Moore presses beyond the others into new documentary and conceptual territory, charting the fortunes of the "behavioral groups" on which he rests the structure of Victorian politics by drawing attention to changes in constituency boundaries and by reliance on the evidence of pollbooks. Viewing politics largely from the country, he saves standing generalizations about deference from the full corrosive effect of Dr. J. R. Vincent's recent, similarly based studies of town electorates.

It is no reflection on these historians, working as they do in fields where remarkable progress has been made over the last generation, to say that the more neglected field of cultural and intellectual history provides more excitement and surprise. Dr. Robson's essay on Trinity College in the Age of Peel, determined by two major allegiances of Dr. Kitson Clark, is necessarily slight. Not so with the others: F. B. Smith's study of the atheist mission, with its touching account of the fate of Holyoake's and Bradlaugh's passionate belief in unbelief; H. J. Hanham's elegant essay on Scottish nationalism in mid-century; and two contributions to the much-neglected subject of German influence on English intellectual life—R. T. Shannon's assessment of J. R. Seeley and J. W. Burrow's fascinating and open-ended inquiry into the Victorian uses of philology. G. F. A. Best digs out the roots of anti-Catholicism from successive layers of the Victorian consciousness (or unconsciousness) and, by engaging in sociological and psychological speculations with which intellectual historians must increasingly find ways to cope, provides the most professionally radical essay in the book.

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As readers of some recent polemics will know, Kitson Clark has attracted a certain amount of controversy, both because of his own work and because he has been the teacher and sympathetic guide of a remarkably able and productive group of younger scholars. This altogether admirable and appropriate *Festschrift* demonstrates what both admirers and opponents must agree upon: how widely and effectively Kitson Clark and his students have changed, and will continue to change, the face of Victorian Britain as we see it.

Columbia University RKW

THE LIFE OF ELEANOR MARX, 1855–1898: A SOCIALIST TRAGEDY. By *Chushichi Tsuzuki*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 354. $7.20.)

THIS is a haunting story and, in relating the circumstances of Eleanor Marx's suicide, a horror story. The sixth and youngest child of Karl Marx has sometimes been depicted as the victim of the Marxian ethic. Whether the explanation of her destruction is to be found in rebellion against the existing social order or in some more elusive area of personal dislocation is difficult to say. She had a happy childhood, was her father's favorite, and received a good education at home. She was energetic, intelligent, and—this may be one of the keys—incurably romantic. She played an important role in helping to revive the Marxist International and in organizing the unskilled workers of East London, but, for all her accomplishments, it would appear that for much of her adult life she was stretching only modest creative talents to the point of exhaustion. She failed as an actress; her work as a translator of, among other things, *Madame Bovary* and some of Ibsen is best described as very adequate; she was too unstable in evaluating her research to make any lasting contribution as a would-be historian of socialism. After her father's death in 1883, she bore the heavy burden of being looked upon by many European socialists as the embodiment of the Marxian legacy.

When she joined Dr. Edward Aveling in free union in 1884, he was already a heavy drinker ridden by debts and adultery. Several perceptive individuals found him almost spectacularly repulsive both in character and appearance. Yet he had a considerable wit and, for many women, a peculiar charm. He was a student of medicine and science and a sometimes brilliant lecturer. He aspired to be a dramatist and an art critic, in which pursuits he enjoyed some small successes. Engels, in whom Eleanor placed almost unbounded trust, gave his blessing to the arrangement and thereafter remained singularly obtuse to the mounting and indeed overwhelming evidence of Aveling's demoralization.

This book is replete with the squabbling and mutual slander, the bohemianism and petty spite, of some of the leaders of the socialist and secularist groups in the London of the 1880's and 1890's. Their differences seem often to have arisen less from doctrine than from quirks of personality, with the Avelings themselves displaying no deep insights in these controversies. In her love of Aveling, Eleanor suffered ostracism and humiliation. She had to cope with an elaborate intrigue over Engels' will and the disposition of her father's papers and eventually see the papers dispersed. She was even told by the dying Engels in

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August 1895 that the illegitimate son of a former maidservant in the Marx household was in fact her half brother.

In 1887, shortly after a trip to America, where Aveling was accused of swindling his working-class hosts, Eleanor attempted suicide. Then in 1897 Aveling, still living with Eleanor and dependent on her for his living, secretly married an amateur actress. Eleanor's discovery of this most sordid of his many deceits led her to take poison, apparently with Aveling's knowledge and encouragement. He inherited her money and property, but died four months later.

The portrait of Aveling is in some ways the more succinct and penetrating. Certain readers may complain that this study does not go deep enough psychologically. Actually, the book is a model of tact and restraint in handling difficult and often sensational source material which, it might be noted, is widely scattered. The tone is compassionate but never sentimental. The conjecture, particularly as regards Aveling's complicity in Eleanor's suicide, is convincing. The author, who has also written a life of H. M. Hyndman, moves with assurance through the confusion and division of the late nineteenth-century socialist movement, both British and continental. This work is not likely to be superseded as to essentials and determinable facts, but the story certainly invites other approaches, including that of a Rebecca West or even an Alfred Hitchcock.

Ohio State University PHILIP P. POIRIER

DISRAELIAN CONSERVATISM AND SOCIAL REFORM. By *Paul Smith*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 358. $10.00.)

IT has been said, with some justice, that the growth of modern historical research often merely pulverizes our notions of the past, leaving little of a positive nature in their place. This has not, however, been true either for the historical reputation of Benjamin Disraeli or for that of the Conservative party in the 1860's and 1870's, although recent historical scholarship has devoted much attention to these matters. Robert Blake, F. B. Smith, Maurice Cowling, and last but not least Paul Smith have all, more or less, helped to dismantle the orthodox version. The last-ditch defender of the landed interest, the advocate of a reform bill to cement the natural affinities of landowners and the people, and the architect of social legislation that realized the dreams of youth—these are now wholly or in part views of Disraeli that have been rejected. In their place we have a Disraeli, more in love with words than deeds, who, though he fought Peel, also persuaded his followers in time to adopt Peel's policy of uniting landed wealth with industrial and commercial wealth, who championed the second Reform Bill largely as a matter of pure politics, and who entered on his great ministry without a concrete idea for social reform.

Although Paul Smith's was not the first among the recently published works to say these things—he admits this in his preface—his book is nonetheless valuable. Its chief merit lies in offering a highly detailed analysis of what Conservatism meant in the field of social legislation during the years 1868–1880. One meets here not only with the speculations and legislative efforts of Derby,

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Disraeli, and Cross, but also with those of lesser men, not so easily met with, like the third Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Lord Henley, Lord Robert Montagu, Sir John Pakington, Viscount Sandon, C. B. Adderley, and J. E. Gorst. One is carefully instructed, moreover, in the minutiae of a social policy that ranged from great subjects like education and the trade-unions to lesser ones like river pollution and the licensing question. Smith's conclusions flow inexorably from these detailed considerations. The Conservatism of Disraeli's great ministry was clearly a most mixed affair in which empiricism and Peelite liberalism were the major ingredients. Disraeli found himself in the contradictory position after 1867 of being at once a popular political reformer and the defender of a bourgeois Conservatism fearful of the rise of democracy. While he no doubt believed that he had somehow resolved this contradiction, his achievement was in fact largely a rhetorical one.

Johns Hopkins University DAVID SPRING

A DOCUMENTARY STUDY OF BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS INDIAN NATIONALISM, 1885–1909. By *B. L. Grover*. Foreword, *Humayun Kabir*. Introduction, *Bisheshwar Prasad*. ([Delhi:] National Publications. 1967. Pp. xxv, 295. Rs. 22.50.)

IN this interesting and illuminating study, Dr. Grover has endeavored to make a qualitative contribution to the extensive literature dealing with the early history of the Indian nationalist movement and the British response to it. To penetrate the outward "pose of neutrality" and to expose the real attitudes of the British rulers toward Indian nationalism, the author has extracted from the private papers of the top officials of the period documents dealing with such subjects as the origins of Congress, the role of A. O. Hume, and the attitudes and policies of successive Viceroys. Most of the 174 documents included in the work have not previously been published, and they add significantly to our knowledge of many of the major developments of this period. The documents reveal a British hierarchy deeply hostile to the new political movement (Dufferin kept equating it to the dreaded Irish Home Rule party), fearful of its long-term objectives and of the support that it received from radical politicians in Britain, and, at times, as in the case of the partition of Bengal and the granting of communal representation to Muslims, guilty of Machiavellian policies designed to weaken the Congress or to prevent it from becoming more truly national.

The documents do not always, unfortunately, support the conclusions that the author draws in his overlong and repetitious commentary on the various topics. This is especially true as far as the origins of Congress and Hume's motives are concerned. While Hume's object might have been to stunt the growth of Banerjea's Indian National Conference by founding a "loyal and innocuous" organization under his own direction, the documents selected provide no conclusive proof on which to base such a contention. Nor do they warrant the simple assertion that Hume was the conservative, stabilizing force depicted by the author. What they do show, it seems to me, is an erratic, tempestuous individual who could be hobnobbing with the Viceroy at one moment in an effort to secure reforms and, the next moment, condemning him and the bureaucracy

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in the most outspoken language—a man who, on some occasions, as witnessed by his circular of 1892, was more extreme than the general Congress membership.

Though this conflict does not occur in the case of most of the other topics, the work as a whole would undoubtedly benefit from more documents and less commentary. There are very few documents, for example, on the important question of the partition of Bengal. The organization might also be improved by the avoidance of so many subheadings, and it would be useful to know the precise source of each document.

University of Manitoba E. C. Moulton

SOCIALISTS, LIBERALS AND LABOUR: THE STRUGGLE FOR LONDON, 1885–1914. By *Paul Thompson.* [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 376. $10.50.)

Modern London has intimidated historians. To examine it is to enter a maze from which it is difficult to emerge with honor, for its astonishing growth, sprawling bulk, huge population, inner contradictions, and bewildering complexity of local and central authorities challenge and overwhelm the historian. It is, therefore, not surprising that so little has been published on its political and social development. A study of the competition and occasional cooperation between the major parties and socialists for a share of London's seventy-two parliamentary seats has long been overdue. Dr. Thompson has now filled the need with an important and valuable book.

Thompson's theme is the relationship between London's political geography and political development. He looks beyond central party programs and policies to local industrial, social, and religious characteristics—"the infra-structure of politics." With its mobile population, secular attitudes, political apathy, commuting office workers, and relative lack of heavy industry, London was a nineteenth-century prototype of the "conurbations" to come. Thompson's analysis of party fortunes in London thus reveals in microcosm much of what later occurred in the nation at large.

The collapse of the Liberal hold on London after 1880 (in 1865 every London member was a Liberal; in 1895 and 1900 only eight of the seventy-two seats were captured by Liberals) is excellently analyzed. The partial recoveries of 1892, 1906, and 1910 are shown to be fortuitous, owing more to factors outside the party than to any strength within it. London in this period was unreceptive to nonconformist radicalism, and the Liberals aggravated their problems by refusing to accept the need for local organization and working-class candidates. The socialists, however, benefited little from Liberal weaknesses. Ramsay MacDonald, like many labor leaders, complained that London socialism was sick. Thompson provides a fascinating study, based on thorough research in local records, of this sickness, especially the reluctance to assist the growth of a national labor party. He argues, not always convincingly, that the Fabians had little constructive influence on the Progressives, the Independent Labour party, and the Labour Representation Committee, and that the Social Democratic Federation, far from being the impractical sect usually depicted, was the largest and most dynamic of the London socialist groups. He shows how torn the London Fabians were

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between their policy of permeation of existing parties and encouragement of labor alliances and argues that the secular Marxism of the Social Democrats was better suited to London than northern socialism, with its nonconformist, trade-unionist elements.

Thompson's revisionist analysis of the Fabians and Social Democrats is too severe on the former and too generous to the latter, and his treatment of the Progressives, the London County Council, and the Conservatives is unsatisfactory. These flaws do not lessen the importance of a work that significantly advances our knowledge of the rapid decline of Liberalism and the slow advance of socialism in London in this period.

Vassar College ANTHONY S. WOHL

THE JOURNALS OF GEORGE STURT, 1890–1927: A SELECTION. Volume I, 1890–1904; Volume II, 1905–1927. Edited and introduced by *E. D. Mackerness*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 453; v, 455–915. $19.50 the set.)

GEORGE Sturt was a Surrey schoolteacher who gave up teaching in 1884 in order to take over the family business—a wheelwright's shop in Farnham. He ran the shop for thirty-six years and then wrote a book (*The Wheelwright's Shop* [1923]) about its history and the working lives of its craftsmen that has become a minor classic. He kept a journal during most of his adult life. One edited selection from this journal appeared in 1941, but it only covered the period from 1890 to 1902. The present selection is far more comprehensive and covers a much greater time span. The editor tells us that he has attempted "to sustain the narrative of Sturt's personal and professional life from 1890 onwards, and to set it against the background of social conditions in and around his native Farnham."

In this he has succeeded. Historians who want to get a sense of the quality of life in a Surrey village during this period, whether in terms of social relations and gradations, reactions to great public events, or the trials and tribulations of a dying craft and its practitioners, will find the *Journals* an invaluable source. They will also find them heavy going. Sturt read widely and possessed a subtle and reflective mind. There was something quietly heroic about the way in which he coped with repeated bouts of ill-health and the tedium and frustrations of day-to-day village life. But his reflections on ultimate questions of existence and his musings on his own mental and psychological states, while always serious, tend to be both lengthy and banal; while derivative in substance, they are almost embarrassingly self-conscious and artificial in presentation.

Yet once one has reconciled oneself to the fact that this is not one of the "great" journals, that one's expectations must not be pitched too high, there are many compensations. Sturt was a marvelous observer and recorder of the ways of thought and speech of rural workingmen and women. Neither maudlin nor patronizing, he who was proudly conscious of his own artisan heritage brought an intuitive and sympathetic understanding to the lives and problems of his fellow villagers.

It is they who make the *Journals* come alive. And one willingly puts up with all of Sturt's lucubrations about art and society and the problems of working-class

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culture for the record of an old lady's reminiscence of her childhood when "Old Master Whiten" sang "Yoicks my little dogs," and for an entry such as this one: "On going down to breakfast, I said to Bessie, 'It's May-day.' She looked surprised and 'Oh! so it is!, she said. 'I ought to have said "Rabbits!!"' "

Harvard University JOHN CLIVE

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE WAR OF 1914–1918. By *Sir Llewellyn Woodward*. (London: Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1967. Pp. xxxiii, 610. $13.50.)

SIR Llewellyn Woodward is one of the most distinguished living British historians. Twenty-four years old when the war broke out in 1914, he obtained a commission as soon as he could pass the physical examination and served at the front for several years. He was wounded and discharged from the army in 1917 and attached to the Foreign Office where he remained until the end of the war. During his war service he became very disgusted with the poor direction of the British war machine, and his book is, in one sense, a kind of explanation for the way the British conducted the war. But much as he loathed the war and feared its consequences, he never faltered in his belief that Britain and its Allies must and could win the war. He had little sympathy with the Left-wing protests against the war and was not sympathetic with President Wilson's policy of peace without victory. Convinced that a German victory would mean the ruin of Europe and the subservience of Western Europe to Germany, he was in favor of strong terms for peace and in the end "did not think the Treaty of Versailles too severe."

In his narrative Sir Llewellyn records all the blunders and mistakes that he considers the British warlords to have committed, and a long and sorry list it is. He had no better opinion of French and German action. He does not record anything new, but the totality of his criticism is staggering. Since the closed period for British archives has recently been reduced from fifty to thirty years, one might have expected him to have made use of the Foreign Office archives, as he did in his volume on British diplomacy in the Second World War, but I could find no evidence of it.

The most interesting section is Part XII, "the organization of British resources for total war" in which he describes in considerable detail how the British government, starting almost from the beginning in August 1914, built up the stupendous organization that existed at the end of 1918. In this he makes extensive use of the Carnegie Endowment's *Economic and Social History of the World War*. Even in this crucial business one cannot avoid the impression that there was much improvisation in the best British manner. This is essentially a British book for British readers and says comparatively little regarding the American contribution to the war.

Sir Llewellyn is an excellent stylist, and his book makes very good reading. It may certainly be recommended not only to the younger generation, who wonder what the First World War was about, but also to elderly people (like myself; I am a little older than Woodward) who have pretty well forgotten what happened in 1914–1918.

University of Chicago BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

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DIARIES AND LETTERS. Volume II, THE WAR YEARS, 1939–1945. By *Harold Nicolson*. Edited by *Nigel Nicolson*. (New York: Atheneum. 1967. Pp. 511. $8.50.)

THE Nicolson diaries for the Second World War are, in essence, not very different from those published earlier that cover the period 1930–1939. In one important respect, however, they underscore what was already implicit in the earlier volume: the pain Nicolson felt in being excluded from major political responsibility. Despite his excellent personal connections, much in evidence, Nicolson never managed to impress himself either on party leaders or on the House of Commons. He was not a man to make a great impression on the general public; this, despite his very successful career as a journalist. For a brief period, from May 1940 to July 1941, he served as Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Information under Duff Cooper. This time of fulfillment for Nicolson was made all the more poignant when he was abruptly dismissed by Churchill after Duff Cooper left the ministry. Nicolson was offered a place as a member of the board of governors of the BBC, and he accepted, but he understood the meaning of the transfer. Any hopes he had entertained for a political career were now effectively ruled out. He remained a backbencher in the House of Commons, not a place for an able man to find himself in time of war.

Even more than in the first volume, the reader must reflect on why someone of such obvious intelligence and learning was so thwarted in his political ambitions. The answer, in part, lies in Nicolson's failure to view men and events dispassionately or critically. This may seem a strange judgment of someone who took such obvious pride in his capacity to render precise estimates of those with whom he associated. Yet, if one assembles his comments on Churchill or De Gaulle, for example, two of his principal heroes, one is struck with how little he reveals concerning the personality or character of either. He reminds us, and this is useful, of the doubts expressed in many quarters about Churchill's stewardship of the nation at various critical moments; he is also informative on the more commonly treated theme of De Gaulle's difficulties in London. In neither case, however, is he able to provide a portrait significantly different from that communicated by less perceptive or less advantageously placed observers.

The failure to reflect on events is even more conspicuous. Nicolson seems almost incapable of liberating himself from his Edwardian preconceptions, so that he can represent politics and society as something other than a succession of incidents involving friends talking about each other. Granted that diaries and letters are particularly susceptible to such personal treatment, still, the impression prevails that Nicolson, for all his acquaintance with politicians, did not understand the political scene and that failure made him an unreliable commentator on the internal dynamics of the society to which he was so deeply attached. This in no way invalidates the interest of the volume. It may, however, provide an additional explanation of why the story is essentially that of an intellectual's failures in twentieth-century British politics.

Brown University STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD

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JAMES USSHER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH. By *R. Buick Knox.* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1967. Pp. 205. 35*s.*)

THE subject of Professor Knox's study, Archbishop James Ussher, is perhaps best known as the compiler of Ussher's chronology. By computing the ages of the Biblical patriarchs, priests, judges, and kings, Archbishop Ussher reached his celebrated estimate of 4,004 as the number of years elapsing from creation to the coming of Christ. While Ussher himself affected to recognize the provisional nature of this estimate, which depended upon the adoption of particular textual readings, the margin of error that he would admit was minimal. He believed that a firm calculation was possible and that it would not vary much from 4,000 years.

The later history of this particular calculation should not obscure the serious purpose that underlay Ussher's quest for accurate dating. Ussher was at once a Protestant theologian, historian, and controversialist, and all of his writings and most of his actions were colored by one major assumption, that "the ancientist must needs by the right, as the nearer the Fountain, the purer the streams, and that errors sprang up as the ages succeeded." Ussher the historian could not be separated from Ussher the theologian and controversialist. He wrote to expose the errors of Roman Catholicism, to defend the Stuart dynasty, and to justify the episcopal system at a time when it was under severe attack.

Knox admits that there were many verdicts upon Ussher as man and churchman in his own time and that disagreement about him persists. Ussher had firm convictions on many issues, convictions not always compatible or easily harmonized. Knox sees his subject not as confused, wavering, harsh, or mild, but as a man who reacted to the complexities of his times. While this kind of a conclusion is certainly not original, it appears to be all that the sources will bear. The subject of this book was born in Ireland in 1581, entered Trinity College, Dublin, three years after its foundation, and became one of its early provosts; he lived through Elizabeth's Irish wars, and though he left Ireland forever in 1640, he was in a sense witness to the flight of the earls, the Ulster Plantation, Strafford's Irish years, the Ulster massacres, the Great Rebellion, and the Cromwellian conquest and transplantation. One might, therefore, wish for more than is in this book. Knox has given us six chapters on Ussher the man and his friends and five chapters on Ussher's theological and controversial writings. This is a book for specialists in seventeenth-century English and Anglo-Irish church history.

University of Notre Dame ROBERT E. BURNS

POMPONNE DE BELLIÈVRE: A STUDY OF THE KING'S MEN IN THE AGE OF HENRY IV. By *Raymond F. Kierstead.* [Northwestern University Studies in History, Number 4.] ([Evanston, Ill.:] Northwestern University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 157. $5.25.)

BIOGRAPHY, which one would think to be by its very nature the most *historisante* of all forms of *histoire,* has come to be practiced in recent years as one of the most rewarding kinds of institutional history. This study of an eminent Politique continues with learning and skill the pattern already set by N. M. Sutherland

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and Orest Ranum in their studies of the French Secretaries of State. Pomponne de Bellièvre came out of the municipal patriciate of Lyons to serve French kings from Henri II to Henri IV as councilor of state, ambassador, Secretary of State, and Chancellor. Less well known than Michel de l'Hôpital, he embodied the same principles of monarchical loyalism, devotion to the interests of the state and a traditionalist view of its function and character, a steadfast Catholic faith, and a readiness to live with Huguenot fellow countrymen. Although Kierstead's vision of the government and society of early modern France is neither personal nor original, it is wholly up to date; the spirit of Roland Mousnier hovers visibly but lightly over these pages. Kierstead shows in detail the ascent of the Bellièvres out of the ranks of the town merchants into the ranks of the "new class" of royal servants, men no longer bourgeois nor yet unequivocally noble. He contrasts Bellièvre particularly with Sully, the Huguenot duke who opposed the Bellièvres and their class as upstarts and favored a bellicosity and a boundless absolutism that Bellièvre resisted with indifferent success until his disgrace in 1604.

For a work as rich in significant exposition and thoughtful analysis as this one it is unfortunately far too short; the reader repeatedly wants to know more and finds himself limited by the author's needless brevity. This is one of the rare books that would be twice as good if twice as long.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick HERBERT H. ROWEN

SULLY AND THE GROWTH OF CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE, 1598–1610. By *David Buisseret.* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1968. Pp. 240. $8.00.)

THE importance of this book could scarcely be exaggerated: it exploits a newly available capital source, the fifty-volume *Papiers de Sully,* and the author is collaborating with Bernard Barbiche of the Archives Nationales on a much-anticipated edition of the *Économies Royales.* Buisseret devotes three chapters to Sully's accomplishment as *Surintendant des finances* (III–V), followed by one each on the *Grand voyer,* the *Surintendant des fortifications et des bâtiments,* and the *Grand Maître de l'artillerie.* Tables, charts, and appendixes support the lucid analysis of the text. Sully's several administrations are described with such detail and new insight that each should be reviewed by a specialist; this is a mere summary of Buisseret's general interpretation and revisions of older views.

Finding the financial system Sully inherited more intact and more workable than has been thought, Buisseret believes that he "breathed life into the old regulations" and that his originality lay in close supervision and the creation of a secretariat. His achievement is not thereby diminished; convincing proof is indeed offered for the traditional judgment. The account of the system itself is by far the best in English, and the full analysis of the budgets is a major new contribution. Sully's struggle against "provincial and corporate solidarity" illustrates the conflict between his conception of government and that of the privileged groups, whose power not only made it impossible to realize "the king's wish that all over France the *taille* should be levied in uniform fashion," but it also explains the helplessness of even so gifted an administrator to change the system.

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By a fortunate coincidence, another good new book presents the other side of this crucial struggle: Raymond F. Kierstead, *Pomponne de Bellièvre* (*AHR*, LXXIII [Oct. 1968], 181).

In Sully's other administrative roles, he displayed an understanding of the applications of quantitative measurement to government and war; this revises the image of "a latter-day Roman republican" interested only in agriculture and the treasury. Even more strikingly new is the appearance of the Huguenot nobleman as "a far-sighted cameralist" inspired by the example of Philip II of Spain. In documenting Sully's contribution to "internal improvements" and the urbanization of Paris, Buisseret brings out his use of public works as an alternative to war in that they would absorb "the turbulent humors of the kingdom" and the importance of his administrative innovations for the future.

An error in the dates of Henri d'Albret (1502–1555), grandfather of Henry IV, is unfortunate but incidental. Sully's highhandedness, especially toward the *robins,* his vanity, his passion for building, and his firm but unfanatical Protestantism are all confirmed. Although his indifference to overseas trading companies may have been influenced by a bribe from the Dutch, he is found to be financially honest.

An interesting account of the development of Sully's legend by the philosophes is supplemented by the exposure of such myths as his alleged indifference to the arts and charges that he stacked his administration with Protestants and that he was categorically opposed to mercantilism. The ultimate distortion of the legend Buisseret expresses as "the idea that the king was a brave bungler who relied on Sully for all serious affairs . . . [as] in some sense a father-figure." While the "Grand Design" belongs to the legend, Sully had a new sense of *patrie,* which "provided the unifying element in his life" and makes Buisseret's Sully "much more similar to Richelieu than is normally allowed."

Tufts University NANCY L. ROELKER

LOUIS XIV. By *John B. Wolf.* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1968. Pp. xix, 678. $12.50.)

IN 1951, when Professor Wolf completed *The Emergence of the Great Powers* for "The Rise of Modern Europe" series, he regretted that there was no good biography of Louis XIV. "Here, if anywhere in this period," he observed, "is an opportunity for a new book." He has now remedied the deficiency with this massive, detailed, soundly documented biography of 300,000 words. "In the process of writing this book," he admits, "it became evident that my picture of Louis XIV was somewhat different from the one that usually stalks the pages of history." How much his own impression of the Sun King altered in eighteen years can be measured by comparing *The Emergence of the Great Powers* with the present work.

In these pages Louis evolves from an affectionate, conscientious prince to a prudent, hard-working monarch. His devotion to his mother, and to Mazarin, his foster father and political mentor, is convincingly documented. So, too, are his methods of personal administration after Mazarin's death. His correspondence with his ministers and generals reveals him not as an "arrogant megalomaniac"

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but as "a man who frequently felt psychologically insecure." To see the real Louis behind the vainglorious actor, Wolf maintains, it is essential to understand his conception of *gloire* and to recall the *mystique* that invested a divine right monarch in the seventeenth century.

How Louis labored to enhance the prestige of the crown while reducing the power of the great nobles is a familiar theme. Wolf acknowledges that "by separating the reality and the *mystique* of power and position, Louis began the process that in the next century almost made the nobility into a parasitical class. . . ." But Louis was not thinking of the next century; he was remembering the *Fronde*. To avert a recurrence of political fragmentation the monarch had to win acceptance as the symbol, ordained by God, of the power, the glory, and the unity of France. "The best way to get an understanding of the development of the new *mystique* of royalty at the climax of the period when kings ruled by divine right is to read through the mass of contemporary material that flooded from the presses of France." From this material, Wolf goes on to explain, emerges his thesis that "the deification of the person of the king in this theocentric era was accomplished in much the same way and with the same intentions that secular societies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have deified the state."

The extravagance of Versailles and the recurrent wars of Louis's long reign were not inspired by his personal pride, but rather by his concern for the dignity of his office. His lofty concept of that office lured him into military moves and made him a haughty negotiator so that he "often found it next to impossible to disengage from a war. . . ." As the defender and in a sense the prisoner of his inheritance, rather than the arrogant arbiter of France and Europe, Louis becomes a more comprehensible and more sympathetic figure.

Wolf deserves the gratitude of his fellow historians for the arduous archival labors he undertook to humanize a monarch who had been too largely reduced to a stereotype. This thoughtful, undramatized, lucidly written biography is enriched by five maps and fifty illustrations. There is an index of persons and places, and the forty pages of sources, notes, and references provide at the same time an elaborate bibliography.

Ithaca, New York GEOFFREY BRUUN

LA COMÉDIE FRANÇAISE AU 18e SIÈCLE: ÉTUDE ÉCONOMIQUE. By *Claude Alasseur*. Preface by *J. Fourastié*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VIe Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Civilisation et sociétés, Number 3.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1967. Pp. viii, 206. 35 fr.)

DISCOVERY of the accounts of the *Comédie Française* for 1680–1793 prompted this quantitative study. Two-thirds of the work and almost its entire organization reflect the monthly and annual registers, while nineteen statistical tables occupy the sixty-five pages of appendixes.

The opening chapter, on various social classes and their apparent presence in the audience, rests on secondary sources. The chapter on the administrative evolution of the *Comédie* is too short to emphasize sufficiently the regulations of

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1757 that were brought on by indebtedness of almost 500,000 livres. After that date, as the third chapter shows, annual rentals of the *petits loges* allowed total receipts to resume the upward curve of 1680–1720. Taxes and wages as well as all expenses began to rise at a more rapid rate after the mid-1750's.

Mlle. Alasseur's study is more institutional history than conventional price history. The product for sale is not closely related to the general economy nor to monetary changes, the only short-term influences upon receipts being political events affecting the nobility and administrative changes. The wages of personnel below the ranks of musicians and actors rose only half as much as other workers' wages, but the sample is small, and the comparison to Labrousse's day laborers is strained. Long-term fluctuations in the financial stability of the theater seem to go against the fabric of the economy, with years of depression and indebtedness from 1720 to 1745, a sharp rise in income after about 1760, and no crisis of revenue until the late 1780's.

Historians will find the nonquantitative conclusions more suggestive for literary affairs. Plays judged as critical successes did not increase annual receipts very much, and unsuccessful plays were often presented many times over. The theater began to recover its losses before the great generation of actors appeared after mid-century. The twenty-three full members of the company realized more profit from the operation in the 1680's than in any decade before the 1760's, although no actor tried to live on his theater shares alone. We shall probably never know the average ticket buyer with any precision, but one hopes that the many pages of pristine figures presented here are the nucleus of a comparative history of literary institutions, especially other theaters.

University of Pennsylvania PERRY VILES

JUDICIAL POLITICS IN THE OLD REGIME: THE PARLEMENT OF PARIS DURING THE REGENCY. By *James D. Hardy, Jr.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 225. $6.50.)

IN this compact volume Professor Hardy presents a lucid account of the political role that the Parlement of Paris played during the Regency in the first years of the reign of Louis XV. His narrative emphasizes the Parlement's part in contemporary religious and financial controversies, the former centering upon the struggle between Gallicans and ultramontanes that stemmed from the papal bull, Unigenitus, and the latter focusing upon such aspects of the financial crisis as taxes, coinage, and, of course, the John Law episode. The author stresses, throughout, the Parlement's attempts to regain a significant role in political affairs after long quiescence under Louis XIV, and he shows the extent to which it accomplished this in spite of the *lit de justice* of 1718 and the exile of the magistrates to Pontoise two years later. The account of the Parlement's political maneuvering is reasonably full and is partially based upon extensive research in manuscript sources. It therefore contains information previously unavailable in print.

In presenting his findings, Hardy relies almost entirely upon a rapidly flowing narrative with a bare minimum of analysis and commentary. This method of exposition has the advantage of presenting a highly readable account of specific

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events, but neglects fundamental matters of explanation and interpretation because the facts do not speak for themselves. To appreciate the Parlement's role in the religious controversies, more should be said concerning the significance of Gallicanism and Jansenism during the period, both among the magistrates and throughout the nation. Considerably more was involved than Gallican factionalism on the Parlement's part. The same lack of contextual information weakens his treatment of financial affairs. The author's exaggerated manner of stating his conclusions occasionally leads him to such sheer inaccuracies as, for example, that "the magistrates were asking for a significant share in royal legislative power" or that the Parlement thought of itself as "a part of the royal government but an absolutely independent part." As for the general thesis of the book—that the Parlement in this period staked out spheres of activity and developed methods of agitation that it followed until the Revolution—this is correct only if carefully qualified, since the Parlement clearly advanced to new positions in both areas as the century progressed. This work presents an interesting and cogent narrative of the Parlement's political activity during the Regency, but it should explain the significance of the events that it relates more accurately.

Brown University WILLIAM F. CHURCH

THE FRENCH ARMIES IN THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR: A STUDY IN MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION. By *Lee Kennett.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 165. $6.00.)

MR. Kennett's characterization of his small volume as "a sort of marginalia to the conflicts of the eighteenth century" is too modest. This is, after all, no exercise in microhistory; one would hardly describe as "marginalia" a 150-page book on the Union Army in the Civil War. Indeed, the book's very compactness is a source of frustration, both for the specialist because so much of the total picture is necessarily omitted and for the general reader because of the density of the detail included. The fault perhaps lies less in the author than in the subject. For whatever reason, military administration is a hodgepodge of disparate institutions and activities that are loosely linked by the common purposes of the military system. One can describe its several parts—recruiting, pay, provisioning, officer selection, transport and communication, equipment, medical service, intelligence, and so on—separately and with little reference to one another. This is in fact what the book does. Each of its topical chapters is a self-contained digest of a subject to which a volume might well be devoted. In most cases the volume has yet to be written. Except in a few areas, such as the officer corps, the common soldier, military organization, and military finance, these slim chapters add to our knowledge, and even in these areas the author appears to have exploited the French military records from the period of the Seven Years' War more thoroughly than his predecessors. Where he has used the work of others, as in the case of the social origins of the French soldier, he shows a good grasp of the literature and is abreast of the most recent findings. One can only admire the discipline that enabled him to condense so much research into such small packages. The pity is that, despite skillful organization and a lean, unpretentious style that

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makes few demands on the reader, the book remains a bundle of small packages, separately wrapped.

All this is not to suggest that the author should have written, and tried to find a publisher for, a multivolume series that only specialists would read anyway. A larger single volume would have enabled him to deal more deliberately, and perhaps more satisfactorily, with the complexity and bulk of his data. R. S. Quimby's *The Background of Napoleonic Warfare,* for example, devotes two or three times as much space to a more homogeneous subject. What I, at least, would have preferred is a more thoughtful, less substantive, and less compartmented essay describing and interpreting military administration in the framework of the whole war-making system of the old regime. It might have been entitled "L'Esprit de l'Intendance."

Industrial College of the Armed Forces RICHARD M. LEIGHTON

DISTAFF DIPLOMACY: THE EMPRESS EUGÉNIE AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE. By *Nancy Nichols Barker.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1967. Pp. x, 254. $6.50.)

MRS. Barker tackles one of the most intriguing problems facing the historiography of the French Second Empire: how much influence did Empress Eugénie exert on imperial foreign policy? The positions of participants and historians have already been so emotionally spelled out that even this serious study will not necessarily allay them. But no student of the issue can escape the obligation to consider her monograph and follow the logic of her argument, which is based on a scholarly and penetrating study of her sources, many gathered from original materials in various European centers.

Neither a biography of the Empress nor a thorough discussion of Napoleonic diplomacy, the volume assumes that the reader already has a working knowledge of the period. It is, instead, a dogged attempt to discover where and how the Empress brought her own ideas and prejudices to bear on French diplomatic decisions. The diplomatic correspondence, the letters, the memoirs have been perused and dutifully digested; all that is missing is the inevitable lacuna that hides the intimate relations between wife and husband.

The author's verdict is that indeed the Empress had a major influence on much imperial diplomacy, but that it was as decisive as many historians believe, she refutes. What appears here is an inconsistency in Napoleon III's foreign policy, and, rather than bringing any wisdom or cohesion to it, Eugénie only clouded what was already a mixture of overaction and hesitancy. The enigmatic Napoleon III appears unimpressive and rather spineless; perhaps this picture is somewhat exaggerated. What develops so tragically, however, is that Eugénie, with the best of intentions but with too much ignorance and romantic yearning, only served to muddle French foreign relations. As so often happens when diplomacy is placed under the close scrutiny of accomplished historians, one is amazed that countries survive as well as they do under the chicaneries of their often confused leaders.

This study demonstrates again that history usually falls back on the intel-

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ligence and whimsy of individual men at specific moments. Foreign policy necessarily depends on the ability of real persons to understand, to judge, and to make decisions. In this case, the historian shows how a ruler's wife placed pressures upon him, whether reckless or wise, that, in the final analysis, influenced nineteenth-century France and Europe. The author recognizes the qualities that rank Empress Eugénie as an important figure, perhaps the most influential woman of her generation, but, in the author's words, "her fine qualities did not add up to statesmanship."

DePauw University JOHN J. BAUGHMAN

ROSSEL, 1844–1871. By *Edith Thomas*. [Leurs figures.] ([Paris:] Gallimard. 1967. Pp. 495. 30 fr.)

LOUIS-NATHANIEL Rossel has not figured prominently in the literature on the Paris Commune of 1871. This is not surprising. It has been easy for the Commune's detractors to dismiss him simply as a young army officer who joined the insurrection from personal pique over his failure to get an anticipated promotion, while for the left-wing mythmakers of the Commune he has been the bourgeois liberal responsible, among his other incompetencies, for the critical surrender of the fort of Issy. Edith Thomas, working from a mass of personal and public documents, has written a straightforward, conventional biography that places him in a different light. With her insistence upon the "rigorous interior logic" of Rossel's life, she has made this story the playing out of a Greek tragedy with the inevitability of the hero's fate as the controlling theme.

We see Rossel throughout his life as a "loner," a ruthless self-critic, an omnivorous reader and joiner of scholarly societies—in all, as a sensitive, highly intelligent young man far better suited, as the author puts it, for a career as a *normalien* than as an army officer. (Rossel himself repeatedly contemplated leaving the army but was held to it by a sense of duty.) We see these traits as the result of his environment: Rossel was indelibly stamped with the severe mentality of the French Protestant of the Midi. It was his religiously held sense of duty, moreover, that placed him under incredible strain as the events of the Franco-Prussian War unrolled, to the point where he felt compelled to sacrifice his duty as a soldier to his duty as a citizen (his own expression). The reader follows this sacrifice and its accompanying commitment to *la guerre à outrance* through Rossel's defiance of orders during the siege of Metz, through his enormously frustrating encounters with the Government of National Defense, and finally through his turning to serve the Commune.

Beyond being likely to stand for some time as the definitive biography of Rossel, this lengthy book, which is perhaps longer than necessary, makes yet one more contribution to understanding the French phenomenon—so much more common since Rossel's day—of military insubordination in the name of exacerbated patriotism. This may be its main value to the historian.

American University JEAN T. JOUGHIN

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LES MUTINERIES DE 1917. By *Guy Pedroncini.* [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de Paris-Sorbonne. Series "Recherches," Number 35.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. 328. 28 fr.)

AFTER so much guesswork about the French Army mutinies of 1917 and their repression, Guy Pedroncini's meticulously researched account is as welcome as is the access to French wartime archives that made it possible.

From April 16, 1917 (opening day of the Nivelle offensive), until early in 1918, individual acts of indiscipline multiplied, and a wave of some 250 collective demonstrations occurred, most of them concentrated in late May to early June among units affected by Nivelle's fiasco. There were 629 men condemned to death (75 actually executed), 1,381 sentenced to forced labor for at least five years, and 1,492 who received lesser penalties. Although undocumented summary executions may not have been as negligible as Pedroncini assumes, the broad outlines of his account are not likely to be revised in the future.

The essential issue, then as now, is the diagnosis of "subversive activities." If dissident propaganda caused the mutinies, as most senior officers except Pétain believed, the proper remedy was to eliminate "outside agitators." If grievances provoked the mutinies, the solution was reform. Pedroncini blames grievances, but not such surface ones as leave and food that were put forward by the men. He shows that units ordered into sectors of recent costly and futile assaults were the main seat of rebellion. This was no refusal to fight since the front lines held; it was a revulsion against offensive strategy. Pétain met it wisely, in Pedroncini's view, by the familiar combination of reform and discipline and by the directive of May 19 that replaced the massive frontal assault with carefully planned local attacks in areas of superiority. Pétain economized in blood, while building up matériel and awaiting the Americans. He thus finally adjusted French concepts to modern warfare: matériel rather than raw courage.

Pedroncini's all-comprehending Pétain, even on his own evidence, shared enough of the other generals' conspiracy theory to insist on withdrawing the Stockholm passports and to contribute to the Red Scare of late 1917. His modernizing Pétain jars, moreover, with the morale-preoccupied marshal of later years. Finally, Pedroncini takes it as axiomatic that any compromise peace sentiment was unconscionable in 1917. While future scholars will differ on such judgments, Pedroncini's account of the cause and dimensions of the crisis looks definitive.

State University of New York, Stony Brook ROBERT O. PAXTON

MAXIME WEYGAND AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN MODERN FRANCE. By *Philip Charles Farwell Bankwitz.* [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXXXI.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 445. $10.00.)

GENERAL Maxime Weygand has been variously detested, vilified, or adored, but he certainly has not deserved to be ignored by serious historians. Still, by the time Weygand died in 1965 at the age of ninety-eight, one wondered whether he merited the baton of a marshal of France (for his part in the first Compiègne

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and Warsaw) or whether he should have been hanged as a war criminal (for his part in the events of 1940 and their aftermath).

About two decades ago Philip Bankwitz set out to disentangle man from myth, to assess Weygand within the broader context of the "politicization" of the modern French Army. Our years of waiting are rewarded: Bankwitz has produced a meticulously documented, conscientiously proofread, and pathbreaking study which, as the author would be the first to admit, is not so much the biography of a soldier as that of the interwar Third Republic in domestic crisis, against the fatal backdrop of civil-military distrust. A tenacious historical bloodhound with a formidable knowledge of French and the French, enhanced by wartime experience with the *Deuxième Division Blindée,* Bankwitz interviewed Weygand personally and repeatedly and spoke with a score of other main actors ranging from Gamelin to Paul-Boncour to Reynaud. It is equally significant that the author developed an intimate acquaintance with all relevant unpublished and published documentation.

Most of the book is concerned with the decade of crises following Weygand's appointment as chief of army general staff in 1930, most particularly with struggles over disarmament and effectives and the connections between this infighting, political instability, and military doctrine. Without refighting the "drôle de guerre," the author explains the larger catastrophe of 1940, symbolized by Weygand. The afteryears are instructive but somewhat anticlimactical as we follow Weygand, that curious but hardly unique amalgam of authoritarian reformer, patriot, and Germanophobe, to Vichy, North Africa, captivity, and trial. Finally exonerated in 1948, the aged Weygand resumed the role of Rightist politico-military pundit; predictably, he espoused the emotional cause of *Algérie française*. The wheel had turned full circle; as Bankwitz observes wryly, Weygand "was condemned to live long enough to witness the full historical consequences of that painful moment of 1940, including the victory . . . of his old enemy and earliest imitator, Charles de Gaulle."

Although Bankwitz does not succeed in breathing life into his main personage, he is the master of an epigrammatic prose. Weygand, for example, he terms "monarchist by sympathy, conservative by conviction, and republican only by necessity." What is more important, the author's analyses are impeccably reasoned. He finds, as the verdict of history, "that while Maxime Weygand was the holder of remarkable talents, he did not have the qualities of the hero, revolutionary in thought and deed, who alone could have provided the answer" in France's most desperate hour.

From reading this balanced and thoughtful study, we do not come to love Weygand; we do, however, come to understand the complex interaction between him and his century of modern French history in terms of "réalités militaires." One can think of no higher praise than to suggest that Donald C. McKay would have been proud of this book by his gifted student.

San Diego State College ALVIN D. COOX

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DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1932–1939). First Series (1932–1935). Volume III (17 MARS–15 JUILLET 1933). [Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre 1939–1945.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1967. Pp. lxx, 928.)

THE third volume in this important French document series continues the excellent work of its predecessors. The topics dealt with most intensively are the Four-Power Pact, the German question, disarmament, and the International Monetary Conference. The documents are organized chronologically, but there are a very useful compilation of them by topic in the front and a somewhat limited index in the back of the volume.

French diplomacy in this period was far from placid. Negotiations about the Four-Power Pact, involving France, Germany, Italy, and Britain, aroused fear and opposition among France's allies, notably Poland and the Little Entente. The French themselves were uneasy about the possible effect of the pact on the League and on France's position in Europe. One Foreign Office note commented that, under the proposed pact, Anglo-Italian tutelage would replace France's role as a Great Power. Yet the French Minister of Foreign Affairs was worried about a possible Italo-German rapprochement and was afraid to refuse the Italian proposals. After intensive negotiations a much-weakened Four-Power Pact was signed on July 15, 1933. The French felt badly isolated in these talks; they feared Germany most, but trusted neither Italy nor Britain.

The reports of François-Poncet, French ambassador to Germany, are fascinating and perceptive. They would, in themselves, make a readable and reasonably comprehensive history of Germany during this period. He was the first French diplomat (in this series of documents, at least) to express the belief that Mussolini might not have complete confidence in Hitler and might fear a German seizure of Austria.

There is not sufficient space available to refer to all the topics dealt with in this volume. For example, there is interesting gossip about East Central Europe. The French ambassador to Italy reported that his Yugoslavian colleague "M. Rakitch laughs every time there is an incident between France and Italy," while the Polish chargé said that only one question about the corridor could be posed: "the annexation of East Prussia to Poland." The French minister to Belgium reported that Hungary was offering to renounce any claims to the territory it had lost to Rumania, if the Rumanians would refuse to ratify the Little Entente. Bulgaria would make a similar renunciation if Rumania would consent to Bulgaria and Hungary seizing territory from Yugoslavia.

This series will always remain an indispensable source for the study of the origins of the Second World War and the general diplomacy of the interwar period.

Indiana University, South Bend PAUL H. SCHERER

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LÉON BLUM: CHEF DE GOUVERNEMENT, 1936–1937. [Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Number 155. Sciences politiques.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 439. 40 fr.)

THIS carefully edited volume represents the proceedings of a colloquium held in March 1965 under the auspices of the *Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques*. The timing of the conference was in many ways propitious. The political passions of the 1930's have cooled somewhat after thirty years, or at least other political passions have replaced them; a variety of scholarly studies on Blum and the popular front have appeared or are under way, and a sufficient number of participants in the events are still alive to contribute their testimony. The conception of the conference was sound, and indeed ingenious, a pattern well worth emulating for the study of contemporary history. Scholars prepared reports and communications on selected aspects of the subject and were then invited to meet for joint discussion with a number of individuals who had in some way taken part in the events of the 1930's. The high level of the reports was assured by the participation of such scholars as Pierre Renouvin, Georges Dupeux, René Rémond, Jean-Marcel Jeanneney, Anne Kriegel, Antoine Prost, Gilbert Ziebura, and others. Among the "political" participants—ministers, cabinet officials, aids of Blum, and top-level civil servants—were Pierre Cot, Jules Moch, André Blumel, André Philip, Pierre Mendès-France, and Marius Moutet. In subject matter, hardly a major aspect of the Blum experiment was overlooked.

As one might expect, the conclusions are tentative and moderate. A genuine appreciation of Blum's accomplishments in the face of insuperable obstacles emerges, as well as an understandable homage to the integrity, intelligence, probity, and dedication of the Socialist leader. But whether Blum possessed the political flexibility and extraordinary leadership qualities that his critical times demanded is not a question that the conference really answers. Actually one misses some of the sharper strictures that have been leveled at Blum by writers like Colette Audry, Georges Lefranc, or Alfred Sauvy (if only for purposes of refutation), to say nothing of the Left-wing Socialists in his own party who never ceased believing that 1936 was "une révolution manquée." One misses also the harsher criticisms of his Spanish nonintervention policy, granted that the dilemma confronting him was among the most heart rending that any statesman has ever had to face.

There are a few new details on devaluation, Spain, relations with the USSR, and some other subjects, but, on balance, very little new is added by the contributions of the "political" participants. Despite its shortcomings, this is a valuable publication. No one will be able to write on Blum and the popular front without consulting it. It should stimulate continuing efforts to discuss and assess Blum's statesmanship.

Duke University JOEL COLTON

DE GAULLE'S FOREIGN POLICY, 1944–1946. By *A. W. DePorte*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 327. $7.95.)

IN August 1944 the Allies extended *de facto* recognition to De Gaulle as head of the French provisional government. Moving his cabinet to Paris from Algiers,

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De Gaulle shortly named Georges Bidault as Foreign Minister. With *de jure* recognition in October, and with 75 per cent of French territory liberated, De Gaulle was able, until his resignation in January 1946, to formulate an essentially French, rather than a resistance, foreign policy. His aims were simple: to achieve Great Power status for France, to have access to the council tables where Europe's, and France's, future was being discussed, and to function as a sort of balance between East and West. Mr. DePorte presents considerable detail concerning this policy which, as he admits, never achieved much success.

The volume is written in a straightforward, impersonal, academic style, with minimal appeal to the popular reader. The layman will find a more readable book, with more insight into French foreign policy, in Alexander Werth's biography of De Gaulle which, oddly enough, is not cited by DePorte.

Much of DePorte's work describes events and meetings, such as Yalta and Potsdam, where France was not represented, but wished to be. Perhaps such descriptions could be justified as necessary background in a popular book, but surely they are superfluous for the professional historian. On the other hand, if the author includes a discussion of Yalta, which was not attended by France, why should he omit the Strasbourg incident, in which De Gaulle did participate? It certainly had a bearing on De Gaulle's relations with the Western Allies. In spite of numerous admissions that France lacked the resources needed to support its diplomacy, DePorte writes in a vein that subtly implies that France's role in foreign relations was significant and in a sense comparable to that of the Great Powers. The impression thus produced does not reflect the actuality.

The question has to be raised: for whom was this book written? Clearly not intended for the lay public, it must be thought of as a study for professional historians. Yet it does not present enough new material or new interpretations to make it useful for those familiar with the field. To be sure, there is good coverage of certain problems—one might single out the chapters on the Near Eastern crisis and on De Gaulle's attitude toward European unity—but other studies handle these matters equally well.

University of Florida ARTHUR L. FUNK

FURTHER SELECTIONS FROM THE TRAGIC HISTORY OF THE SEA, 1559–1565: NARRATIVES OF THE SHIPWRECKS OF THE PORTUGUESE EAST INDIAMEN *AGUIA* AND *GARÇA* (1559) *SÃO PAULO* (1561) AND THE MISADVENTURES OF THE BRAZIL-SHIP *SANTO ANTÓNIO* (1565). Translated and edited from the original Portuguese by *C. R. Boxer*. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Number 132.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1968. Pp. x, 170. $8.00.)

THIS is a companion volume to *The Tragic History of the Sea 1589–1622 . . .*, edited by C. R. Boxer and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1960. The three narratives in this volume appeared in Bernardo Gomes de Brito's *História trágico-marítima* (1735–36), but this is their first translation into English. Boxer selected them as "typical" accounts of Portuguese disasters of the mid-sixteenth century.

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The first narrative concerns a voyage that ended in disaster while on its way from Portugal to India in 1559. The second account, of an India-bound voyage in 1561, tells how the *voyageurs* were driven off course by high seas and squalls. After experiencing sickness (350 out of 500 were ill at one time), undergoing shipwreck, and a surprise Muslim attack, they finally ended their travels in Djakarta. The third narrative, of a passage from Brazil to Portugal in 1565, describes how the ship was buffeted by storms, plundered by French pirates, and left "without rudder, masts, sails, shrouds, [or] ship's boat" until at last about forty half-starved survivors reached their destination. Each narrative has its courageous and humanitarian hero. There is no "typical" moral, however, for where the third account is a panegyric of God's Providence, the second concludes: "It's better to live ashore less desirous of riches than to traverse the sea."

Boxer attributes the authorship of the first narrative to Diago do Couto, the second to an anonymous author, the third to Afonso Luís *et al.* Boxer thus refutes Gomes de Brito's designation of Manuel Baradas, Henrique Dias, and Bento Teixeira Pinto, respectively, as the authors. Boxer recognizes that each narrative had appeared in at least two editions before Gomes de Brito and that while one edition of each narrative still survives, the other is now missing.

My primary quarrel with Boxer is his cavalier treatment of Gomes de Brito, whom he censures for "concealing" information, inserting "numerous interpolations and additions," and for "substituting" misleading statements and details to replace "arbitrarily suppressed" matter. Since Gomes de Brito could have based his version on the editions that are now missing (a possibility left unexplored by the editor), Boxer's criticism of Gomes de Brito is unjustified. This limitation, plus other evidences of carelessness, places this volume below the high standard we have come to expect of publications of the Hakluyt Society.

Virginia Military Institute HENRY S. BAUSUM

THE TRAGIC WEEK: A STUDY OF ANTICLERICALISM IN SPAIN, 1875–1912. By *Joan Connelly Ullman*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. x, 441. $9.50.)

THE anticlerical riots of 1909 in Barcelona followed several weeks of organized protest against the sending of conscript troops to Morocco. A one-day general strike on Monday, July 26, was supposed to inspire similar demonstrations in other cities, but it was not, in fact, seconded outside Greater Barcelona, and it quickly degenerated into four days of church burning and street battles. Some sixty buildings were destroyed, and about 120 persons died, of whom 3 were clergy and 8 were police or military. Several factors in the local political situation help to explain how the anarchical disturbances got started. The civil governor was determined to maintain law and order, but not to provoke the workers or call out the army; he disagreed bitterly with his immediate superior in Madrid, the Minister of the Interior. When the latter ordered him to declare martial law, he did so, but he resigned immediately, bequeathing the crisis to an indecisive general who disposed of only 2,000 troops and who was a stranger to the city. During the following four days it also became quite clear

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that no organized political party—Radicals, Catalan Republicans, or Socialists—had the slightest understanding, much less control, of what was happening in the streets. The middle class remained passive, and numerous army officers stood by while their troops fraternized with the church burners. During the subsequent repression 5 men were executed, and 59 were sentenced to life imprisonment. But public attention, then and since, has been concentrated overwhelmingly on the case of Francisco Ferrer, rationalist educator, anticlerical orator, and vague propounder of social revolution. Ferrer was executed for "moral responsibility," principally on the testimony of Radical politicians who in recent years had been even more guilty than he of loose talk about the need for burning churches as a prelude to true social revolution.

Mrs. Ullman's study of the events themselves is based upon the press, the trial testimonies, and the memoirs of all the political and military participants who have put themselves on record. She has done a magnificent piece of research, disentangling fact from propaganda and emphasizing areas of continuing ignorance while expounding the known facts. Her treatment of the context is not as successful as her account of the urban riots. She claims too much in stating that the tragic week "marked the end of an era of economic, political, and intellectual reform movements" intended to prepare Spain for the twentieth century. Her efforts to substantiate the claim oblige her later to make ambiguous statements that conceal the absence of substantial content in such things as the Maura reform program and the short-lived *Solidaridad Catalana*. In general the pages concerning 1875–1912 are too diffuse to constitute a connected study of anticlericalism, but the heart of the book is a definitive account of one of the most traumatic incidents in modern Spanish history.

University of California, San Diego GABRIEL JACKSON

THE GRAND CAMOUFLAGE: THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR AND REVOLUTION, 1936–39. By *Burnett Bolloten*. Introduction by *H. R. Trevor-Roper*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. [1968.] Pp. xi, 350. $7.50.)

MR. Bolloten's study of the Leftist revolution in Spain during the first ten months of the Civil War and the gradual establishment of the Communist politico-military hegemony in the Leftist zone has been published for the second time. It is the most meticulously investigated and thoroughly documented monograph that has been published on any aspect of the internal politics of the Spanish Civil War. The style is not always felicitous, since a few lines of text often give way to massive documentary footnotes that engulf the page in the manner of Pierre Bayle's *Historical Dictionary,* but this method of exposition does succeed in establishing most major points beyond dispute.

This is not a revised edition; the entire text has been reprinted without alteration. The only changes are in the subtitle and in the addition of an introduction by Hugh Trevor-Roper. *The Grand Camouflage* refers to the Communist effort to present the Leftist revolution in Spain as a case of parliamentary democracy defending itself from "international fascism." When this book first appeared in 1961, its subtitle was *The Communist Conspiracy in the Spanish Civil War,* but that, together with the incontrovertible documentation

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included, brought considerable protest from pro-Leftist pundits. The new subtitle—*The Spanish Civil War and Revolution, 1936–39*—is less accurate and will not necessarily make Bolloten's book more acceptable to the Left.

When first published, this volume hardly attracted the attention and praise that it merited. Partly to remedy this, Trevor-Roper has taken up the cudgels in his introduction. He rightly decries the reluctance shown in some quarters to analyze and accept Bolloten's research on its own terms, since, as he says, Bolloten has demonstrated more conclusively than anyone else that the constitutional republic and "democracy" ceased to exist in Leftist Spain after July 1936.

The principal shortcoming of Bolloten's work is a matter of perspective. While carrying on years of exhaustive investigation of the Spanish Left during the ten-month period July 1936 to May 1937, he has devoted comparatively little attention to the period that preceded the Civil War. Thus he is unable to reveal the full process of the erosion of the Republican polity in Spain.

Regardless of such a limitation, the great quantity of solid research and the objective exposition that make up this book assure its place as one of the very few genuinely indispensable studies on the Spanish Civil War.

University of Wisconsin, Madison STANLEY G. PAYNE

ACTA HISTORIAE NEERLANDICA. Volume I. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1966. Pp. xviii, 248. 42 gls.)

SINCE the Dutch language is in limited use, the work of historians in the Netherlands has had a smaller audience than it deserves. This important new series should help the situation. It is to appear annually, and it will present in translation (largely into English) significant articles, lectures, and extensive synopses of important books.

The eleven items translated in the first volume include a survey of classical ideas of world history that stresses the Hellenistic era (A. B. Breebaart); a discussion of medieval corporatism, with a critique of Kantorowicz and others (A. G. Weiler); a convincing attack on Karl Wittfogel's explanation of the rise of Russian autocracy (Z. R. Dittrich); and a synthesis of recent research on prehistoric agriculture in the Netherlands (J. M. G. VanderPoel). Two essays deal with the medieval Netherlands: J. M. Van Winter summarizes her important book on the formation of the noble class in Guelders and Zutphen, and C. Vande-Kieft considers noble control over some aspects of brewing with the curious combination of regalian and manorial elements involved.

The seventeenth-century "Golden Age" is, obviously, a major area of interest for Dutch historians. I. Schöffer draws on it to criticize views of the epoch as an age of "crisis"—"stabilization" is a better term. More specialized treatments cover the decline of the Baltic grain trade after mid-century (J. A. Faber) and the entrepreneurial activities of the Trip family (P. W. Klein). For the nineteenth century, J. C. Boogman gives a provocative comparison of Dutch foreign policy, dominated by the old "establishment" even during the era of Liberal ascendancy, with that of Belgium. The volume ends with a synopsis of a recent symposium on Dutch policies in the East Indies (edited by H. Baudet and I. J. Brugmans) that reveals sharply differing evaluations of their effectiveness.

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The second volume of this series is now available and continues the high standards set by the first. It would seem that this very useful series should be ordered by almost every college and university library.

Calvin College DIRK W. JELLEMA

L'ESPRIT LAÏQUE EN BELGIQUE SOUS LE GOUVERNEMENT LIBÉRAL DOCTRINAIRE (1857–1870) D'APRÈS LES BROCHURES POLITIQUES. By *Achille Erba.* [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Number 43.] (Louvain: Bureaux de la R.H.E.; distrib. by Éditions Nauwelaerts, Louvain. 1967. Pp. xv, 705. 725 fr. B.)

THIS book, written by an Italian Jesuit and sponsored by the Catholic *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* seeks to examine intellectual territory the author's great-uncles most certainly would have considered to be the Devil's Own. The "laic spirit" defined by it might thus legitimately be suspected of having as many roots in the ecumenical spirit of contemporary European liberal Catholicism as in the fiercely anticlerical materials that it subjects to such rigorous and scientific examination.

Although the study opens with a brochure written in 1857 by the chief of the Doctrinaire ministry, H. J. W. Frère-Orban, and uses various organs of the press to evaluate Liberal opinion, its heart lies in a detailed analysis of certain selected tracts produced by seven Liberal pamphleteers during the years the Doctrinaire ministry was in power. The seven can probably safely be considered typical of current Liberal opinion though not necessarily representative of it since only one writer consistently supported the ministry's ecclesiastical policy and four were Progressives rather than Doctrinaires. All were rationalists who believed in earthly human perfectibility and interpreted Catholic policy as fundamentally oriented toward preparing men for a heavenly rather than an earthly existence and toward protecting the Church as a secular power. They were not, however, materialists. According to Erba, they believed that Christianity contained the natural laws of morality and most of them considered Christ a moral and ethical reformer whose "fundamental teaching [could be] reduced to a message of love, or better, of liberty, equality and fraternity. . . ." Their "laic spirit" was a political attempt to bring traditional Christian moral and ethical principles to the solution of earthly, rather than heavenly, problems by interpreting all constitutional liberties as ultimately guaranteeing individual intellectual freedom. The most sensitive civil areas concerned education, charities, and civil personification of religious bodies.

These Liberal notions might be defined not as a program of laicization but as a means of opposing a clerically dominated Right while maintaining a declericalized Christianity as a bulwark against the materialistic, revolutionary Left. Erba, indeed, seems poorly acquainted with the extreme Left and with the important rationalist society movement that bound it together. When he speaks about it, he is quite frequently wrong, and the single source he cites is poor and long outdated. This is too bad because a better case could probably be made for a revolutionary "laic spirit" than for a Liberal one, and the most serious criticism of the author's thesis is its timidity and narrowness. This timidity is also reflected

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in the fact that about half of the author's words appear in footnotes that are usually more irrelevant than illuminating.

Lewis and Clark College ALLAN H. KITTELL

DE RELIGIÖSA FOLKRÖRELSERNA OCH SAMHÄLLET CA 1750–1850; DE NORDISKA LÄNDERNAS UTRIKESPOLITIK, 1939–41. [Historiallinen Arkisto 62; Nordiska Historikermötet, Number 1.] (Helsingfors: Suomen Historiallinen Seura—Finska Historiska Samfundet. 1967. Pp. 221.)

THE Finnish Historical Association has published the first volume of papers read at the Nordic Historical Meeting in Helsinki in 1967. The volume is devoted to two topics: "The People's Religious Movements and Societies, c. 1750–1850," and "The Foreign Policy of the Northern Countries, 1939–1941." Each general topic is covered by four authors, each author being an expert on the subject in one of the four countries that represent the continental northern community of nations—Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Insular Iceland for some reason does not figure in this community project. The authors of each country, except Finland, have published articles in their own languages. The Finns preferred the second language of their country—Swedish.

The religious movements have been traced by A. Pontoppidan Thyssen for Denmark, by Dagfinn Mannsåker for Norway, by Arne Palmqvist for Sweden, and by Martti Ruutu for Finland. The articles are footnoted, and the Finnish and Swedish articles also contain charts. These papers on the religious movements comprise more than half of the volume. To a foreign reader, however, the articles on the foreign policy of the Finno-Scandinavian countries during a very crucial period in world history are of much greater interest. The Danish situation is presented by Sven Henningsen, the Norwegian by Magne Skodvin, the Swedish by Gunnar T. Westin, and the Finnish by Tuomo Polvinen. In striking contrast to the first group, the authors of these articles have not considered it important to document their findings. Only a few important footnotes accompany Skodvin's article. The limited space does not allow proper analysis of these articles here. One wishes, however, that their findings might be translated into English. The foreign policy of smaller European powers—the Scandinavian, Baltic, Benelux, Danubian, and Balkan countries—is continuously overlooked by historians of the major powers, except Germany, and it usually is glossed over with superficial generalities that convey impressions not in accord with historical fact.

San Jose State College EDGAR ANDERSON

L'ADMINISTRATION DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES ET LA POLITIQUE EXTÉRIEURE DE LA FINLANDE: DEPUIS LE DÉBUT DE L'INDÉPENDANCE NATIONALE EN 1917 JUSQU'À LA GUERRE RUSSO-FINLANDAISE DE 1939–1940. By *Juhani Paasivirta*. [Turun Yliopiston Julkaisuja, Series B, Number 99.] (Turku: Turun Yliopisto. 1966. Pp. 207.)

As the title suggests, this book has two subjects, and both receive excellent treatment. The second, however, is clearly subordinate: a lucid and balanced review

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of Finland's foreign policy problems and positions from 1917 to 1940 serves mainly to support the author's principal contribution, that is, a detailed, systematic, inclusive, and unusually readable administrative history. Some possibly unnecessary repetitiveness mars the exposition, but the story of how Finland's foreign affairs were managed during the years covered comes through. It is an interesting story even for persons not directly concerned with Finnish affairs.

Paasivirta writes with an acute awareness that Finland's difficulties were not and are not unique. A small, newly independent nation, heavily dependent both economically and politically upon larger neighbors for survival, torn by serious internal cleavages, and almost totally inexperienced in the conduct of foreign affairs, was forced to improvise an apparatus, processes, and personnel—and to take international positions. Finland built a fairly successful organization out of rank amateurs, and Paasivirta describes how it developed and functioned under each of the administrations during the period in question. The background, training, political connections, and personal inclinations of each of the Presidents and Foreign Ministers are outlined and analyzed as they related to the decision-making process. The influence of Parliament, parliamentary committees, and subcommittees and that of the political parties is reported. The role of individual ambassadors and, occasionally, the press is not neglected. We are not given really deep analysis of the processes during any one crisis. While there is nothing intimate or confidential in the book, it does provide a splendid overview.

California Institute of Technology HEINZ E. ELLERSIECK

ZUR WIRTSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE DES REGIERUNGSBEZIRKS AACHEN. By *Clemens Bruckner*. With concluding remarks, "Die Wirtschaft des Aachener Bereichs im Gang der Jahrhunderte," by *Hermann Kellenbenz*. [Schriften zur Rheinisch-Westfälischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Number 16.] (Cologne: Rheinisch-Westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv zu Köln. 1967. Pp. 563.)

THIS book is a labor of love. It was written after the author's more than forty years of service with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the administrative district (*Regierungsbezirk*) of Aachen. Because Mr. Bruckner's historical interest in the subject was rather incidental, and he was more concerned with the immediate and pressing business problems of the day, Professor Kellenbenz of the *Rheinisch-Westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv* has added a chapter unifying historically relevant information that is often scattered or repetitious in the body of the work.

The work is divided into two main parts: The short first part surveys trade and commerce (roads, railways, and their tariffs), natural resources (minerals, water, and forests), and, finally, the effect of cultural and political developments on the region's economy. The second, far longer part deals with the important branches of the economy of the Aachen district which, in addition to the city proper and its immediate surroundings, comprises also the *Landkreise* of Monschau, Schleiden, Düren, Jülich, Geilenkirchen-Heinsberg, and Erkelenz, an area of 3,081 square kilometers and slightly fewer than a million inhabitants. Its location on the borders of West Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands and its proximity to other important German industrial centers like Cologne and

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Düsseldorf make the colorful history and the modern economic problems of this district even more interesting.

Such industries as mining and smelting, based on natural resources, began in the Middle Ages. Manufactures and trades are considered as they developed and disappeared, or as they still exist. Bruckner begins with the city of Aachen itself, then considers each *Landkreis* in turn. The variety and importance of these enterprises are surprising—textile and glass industries, chocolate making, and banking and insurance endeavors. Biographical information on such founders, owners, and managers as the Cockerills or Poensgens, who became known beyond their immediate neighborhood, is interspersed in a number of chapters or appendixes.

Arrangement of the subject matter by *Landkreise* may be convenient for the economist, but it provides monotonous and repetitious reading. It may be unfair to quarrel with the arrangement, however, since the primary aim was to offer a comprehensive wealth of data, facts, and figures.

The circumspect editorial care of Kellenbenz and his assistants in providing bibliographies, indexes of places, subject matter, persons, and firms, a list of the interesting illustrations and maps, and a detailed table of contents open the book to any desired use and help to make it a highly valuable reference work.

Montclair State College EDITH LENEL

STUDIEN ZUR INDUSTRIEGESCHICHTE DES ERZEBIRGES. By *Siegfried Sieber.* [Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, Number 49.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1967. Pp. vi, 152. DM 22.)

As the author specifically states and the bibliography indicates, this book is based on years of dedicated labor. Numerous earlier attempts were published in newspaper articles in Chemnitz (now Karl-Marx-Stadt) and in other local and regional journals. This sort of interest on the part of nonacademic historians and chronologists can be found frequently in Central Europe, and it can and does provide important material for serious scholarly work.

Unquestionably, Sieber's book provides much useful information. The lack of documentation in the first part of the work, however, forces the interested scholar to commit much valuable time to ascertaining the accuracy of facts and figures on his own. He has, nevertheless, the benefit of much specific information, apparently carefully collected during the author's lifetime. As such the data may be considered a primary source and, therefore, very valuable.

The book's two major parts are not directly related to each other. In the first portion each industry of any importance to be found in the Erzgebirge region is considered, but without any references to sources. The second portion deals with the city of Aue (with a population of 31,000) located in this area. Here many citations of printed or typed sources are found; they often go back to Sieber's previous works and again prevent the scholar from assuring himself of the accuracy of the statements unless personal observation is given as a source. Most valuable, in my opinion, are the appended maps; unfortunately, they show no historical progression and consequently can be used only with the greatest care.

Tulane University HERMAN FREUDENBERGER

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MELANCHTHONS RECHTS- UND SOZIALLEHRE. By *Guido Kisch.* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1967. Pp. 307. DM 48.)

On February 16, 1960, the eminent legal historian Guido Kisch, of New York and Basel, presented a lecture on humanistic jurisprudence to the Columbia University Seminar on the Renaissance. It served as a platform for his own program of research, and it should benefit other scholars. Kisch urged that scholars move beyond general considerations in the study of legal history to an analysis of the legal thought of specific individuals, to an examination of central problems such as the history of the ideas of *aequitas* and *epieikeia* through the medieval and Renaissance periods, and to such further problems as whether humanism influenced to some degree the reception of Roman law in Central Europe and the significance of humanistic jurisprudence for the growth of the law, its doctrines, instruction, study, and its practical application. Also in 1960, Kisch published his massive *Erasmus und die Jurisprudenz seiner Zeit,* followed by his *Zasius und Reuchlin* (1961) and by his account of his own Basel faculty *Die Anfänge der Juristischen Fakultät des Universität Basel, 1459–1529* (1962). As good as his word, Kisch has pressed on with an impressive study of Melanchthon's legal thought.

In numerous treatises, published in the second part of this volume, Melanchthon spelled out his ideas on law quite explicitly. Dilthey had already observed that Melanchthon's universal mind saw in Roman law a kind of philosophy. Turning away from Mosaic law, Melanchthon cultivated the study of Roman law for over thirty years, appreciating the revival of Roman law as an aspect of the Renaissance of classical antiquity but, above all, as a useful instrument for a better ordering of society. Proceeding from Aristotle's celebrated passage in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (Book V), Melanchthon interpreted the phrase *summum ius summa iniuria,* which Cicero already considered a cliché, as a need to render judgments milder by considering extenuating circumstances. Kisch rightly criticizes this view, arguing that the intent of the doctrine for Aristotle was to state that laws are general and must be improved by being adjusted to individual cases. It would have been useful if the author could have spelled out parallels to Luther's thought even more fully or showed how Melanchthon's preoccupation with Roman law affected his actual teaching and practice in church-state relations. But he is working ahead on his larger history, and the achievements of a man who was honored with a *Festschrift* so long ago as 1955 are remarkable indeed.

Stanford University Lewis W. Spitz

DAS ZEITGENÖSSISCHE FRANKREICH IN DER POLITIK HUMBOLDTS. By *Ulrich Muhlack.* [Historische Studien, Number 400.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1967. Pp. 199. DM 28.)

The problematic character of Wilhelm von Humboldt seems to arouse strong feelings of either admiration or distaste; Ulrich Muhlack is an admirer. His aim is to refute interpretations like that of Siegfried Kaehler, in which Humboldt is seen as a man suffering from disabling internal conflicts. Muhlack argues that in Humboldt's thought there were stages of development but no real contradic-

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tions, that Humboldt never viewed the political and cultural as sharply distinct spheres with totally conflicting demands, and that he did not sacrifice politics to culture, but rather appreciated the necessity of a certain kind of culture as a prerequisite to the kind of political life he desired. Muhlack, believing that events in France had heuristic value for Humboldt, focuses on Humboldt's changing attitude to the French Revolution. As Humboldt's initial enthusiasm for the libertarian aspect of the Revolution gave way to growing disillusionment and finally to contempt for the French as a nation, so his own ideas on politics in general and on developments in Germany received clarification.

Any student of Humboldt will want to read this carefully reasoned and thoughtful study. With this said, it should be noted that the style is turgid and repetitious; such lengthy analysis of Humboldt's most casual utterance seems sometimes mere prolixity, inflation of a theme that might have been treated adequately in a long article. Muhlack, moreover, is so intent on demonstrating Humboldt's consistency that the total picture becomes that of a man incapable of error. To Muhlack any seeming inconsistency in Humboldt's thought can be explained as a temporary tactical retreat, or two apparently conflicting positions can be reconciled in some higher unity. Throughout, Humboldt is treated with something like reverence. His thought is unfailingly characterized as organic, flexible, sensitive to reality, his morality as untainted by self-interest and aimed only at the common good. In all this there is at least the suspicion of verbal ingenuity. Kaehler did try to find the answer to a genuine problem: Humboldt's failure as a man of action. Muhlack simply insists that as a theorist Humboldt was impeccable. When one has finished this analysis, which is in its way quite impressive, one still wonders why a man of such imputed superior political understanding should have been so ineffective in gaining his political ends.

Cleveland State University LENORE O'BOYLE

ADOLF HITLER: HIS FAMILY, CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH. By *Bradley F. Smith.* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University. 1967. Pp. 180. $6.50.)

BRADLEY Smith pursues meticulously the fortunes of the Schicklgruber-Hitler family from 1795 to 1913, and he emerges, having demonstrated the banality of their existence. Poor and hard working (except for young Adolf), of peasant stock, with no distinction and no scandals except those resulting from incontinence, they are a monument to inexplicable fate. Hitler's father Alois was probably not, despite Hans Frank and Franz Jetzinger, the illegitimate son of a Jew; he worked his way up to minor success in the Austrian bureaucracy, changed his name from Schicklgruber presumably to secure an inheritance, dominated the household, made a living that placed him financially in the middle group of the salaried middle class, retired to be a small-scale farmer and beekeeper, and died respectably, if in a tavern. Klara Pölzl, Hitler's mother, appears as a decent, hard-working woman, too indulgent of her petulant son. Theirs was a "transient" family life, to be sure, in some measure because of Alois's necessary moves as a customs official, but not a particularly unhappy one.

As for Adolf Hitler, Smith rightly remarks that this is not "the portrait of

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the adult monster as a monster child." He was lazy, fond of romantic games, stubborn; he did well in the *Volksschule,* which was easy, and poorly in the *Realschule,* which was harder and repelled him because it was linked with Alois's ambition for him to become an official. Jetzinger's sharp criticism of August Kubizek's *Adolf Hitler, mein Jugendfreund,* is not generally supported by Smith. The tempting thesis of Dr. Johann Recktenwald that Hitler suffered a personality change after an attack of encephalitis is viewed as unproved and unprovable. For Vienna, Reinhold Hanisch remains the best source. The memoir literature, rightly suspect because of the long lapse between events and writing and also the inevitable bias pro or con, is carefully checked against the documents and earlier investigations recorded in the NSDAP Archives.

One might wish for more comment on Hitler's stylized Biedermeier account of these early years in *Mein Kampf,* especially the political and social views aired there, though Smith is doubtless right in de-emphasizing Hitler's political interests and experiences in Vienna. And were Lanz-Liebenfels and *Ostara* really such an influence on young Hitler's racism as Wilfried Daim maintained? Otherwise, the book appears admirably cool, objective, and thorough, if a little dry.

Harvard University REGINALD H. PHELPS

GROSSE DEPRESSION UND BISMARCKZEIT: WIRTSCHAFTSABLAUF, GESELLSCHAFT UND POLITIK IN MITTELEUROPA. By *Hans Rosenberg.* [Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Number 24. Publikationen zur Geschichte der Industrialisierung, Number 2.] (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1967. Pp. xii, 301. DM 28.)

PROFESSOR Rosenberg's suggestive and penetrating essay on the great depression of 1873–1896 in Germany and Austria extends and refines his notable article on the same subject in the *Economic History Review* (XIII [No. 1, 1943], 58–73). His theme, as before, is the political and social consequences flowing from a major redistribution of national incomes, but now Rosenberg has strengthened with evidence and commentary many points that he had previously just sketched in. In examining relevant theories of the business cycle and the social psychology of the depression, he has dealt more searchingly than before with the realignment of parties and interests, the trend to "collective protectionism," and the economic roots of modern imperialism.

After 1873 discontent and mean calculation replaced the optimism and idealism that had eased the way for Bismarck's creative "revolution from above." Depression and deflation affected different groups in strikingly different ways. Agriculture was pinched harder than industry and commerce, while, with rising productivity, factoryworkers actually enjoyed a sizable gain in real wages. Some groups improved their lot and raised their expectations, but Rosenberg shows that bleak prospects of unwelcome change led others to "grotesque fears of Reds and revolution," querulous dogmatism, and anti-Semitism. Forces for moderation and amelioration were weakened; economic hardships and the social tensions arising from shifts in power and prestige induced a climate of pessimism and even neurosis.

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The depression upset issues and politicians alike. Liberalism was discredited, and the parties, transformed from champions of abstract principles into defenders of concrete interests, began rather uncomfortably to seek mass support. Landowners and industrialists grudgingly formed a new coalition to "protect the national effort," marshaling high tariffs and paternalistic social measures against world prices and domestic unrest. Controlling army, bureaucracy, and schools, the propertied classes wielded power beyond their numbers. Caustically attacking "state-subverting" elements, they alienated even further the Social Democrats, a party of mounting strength and impatience.

While Rosenberg does not present a sweeping thesis covering all of these developments, he offers many crisp judgments based on wide knowledge of sources and monographic scholarship. Having effectively used the findings of Eckart Kehr and other students of German and Austrian society, he is more successful in portraying the defensive adaptation of established institutions than in conveying a lively sense of dynamic forces for change. In his *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience, 1660–1815* (*AHR,* LXIV [Apr. 1959], 646), Rosenberg described the emergence of bureaucratic absolutism; the present work in many ways is a fitting sequel, showing the old Prussia under stress but still able to function.

Department of State FREDRICK AANDAHL

PAUL NIKOLAUS COSSMANN UND DIE SÜDDEUTSCHEN MONATSHEFTE VON 1914–1918: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DER NATIONALEN PUBLIZISTIK IM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. By *Wolfram Selig.* [*Dialogos: Zeitung und Leben,* New Series, Number 3.] (Osnabrück: Verlag A. Fromm. 1967. Pp. 207. DM 19.80.)

THIS highly informative Munich dissertation contains two brief monographs. The second and longer sketches the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*'s support for the German national cause during the war of 1914–1918. From September 1914 Cossmann devoted the magazine to the sort of "political education" that the *Vaterlandspartei* later pursued in behalf of the military triumph of Germany and the future of superior *Deutsche Kultur* in the interest of all mankind. Selig analyzes and often questions the political positions while noting propaganda simplifications, contradictions, and errors, such as exaggerated confidence in military power and the high command. In spite of some ineffective thrusts against F. Fischer and some uncritical reliance upon K. D. Erdmann's account of the war, Selig adds usefully to such studies as those by K. Schwabe on the outlook of German professors during the war, A. Kruck on the Pan-German League, and L. Dehio.

The initial monograph sketches the editor's life and associations. Although Selig could not find sources enough for the full biography he wished, he contributes much. His twelve pages on *Gäa,* mentioned in O. Spengler's letters published in 1963, are perhaps most notable. In the struggle against "the lie of German war guilt," Cossmann formed this group, which attacked the "socialist menace," backed various nationalist candidates such as Luther, Curtius, and Seldte, and strove for the "bourgeois Right." For me, the account questions too

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infrequently the interpretation of Cossmann as a "fanatic for the truth" and relies too heavily on Cossmann's friend, the Munich historian and National Socialist, K. A. v. Müller, whose memoirs H. Heiber has suggested need correction. All the same, the account affords poignant and painful reminders of the political passions, blindness, selfishness, and dogmatism that corroded German lives and brought such devastation and savagery. In December 1938 Hassell mentioned in his *Diary,* as Selig does not do here, Cossmann's anguish at the shattering of his conviction that Germans were incapable of such bestialities as they were accused of in war atrocities. A monarchist opponent of Hitler, Cossmann was imprisoned in 1933 while the North German industrialists who owned the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten,* which he directed as political adviser, made arrangements with the Nazis. A convert to Catholicism in 1905, he was sent to the Munich ghetto in 1941 as a Jew. The next year he died at Theresienstadt, two years before the Nazi government executed Hassell, son-in-law of his hero, Tirpitz.

University of Washington D. E. Emerson

REVOLUTIONARY HAMBURG: LABOR POLITICS IN THE EARLY WEIMAR REPUBLIC. By *Richard A. Comfort.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 226. $6.00.)

This admirable study, based largely on archival research and thoroughly documented, provides a meticulous and illuminating analysis of labor politics in Hamburg during the crucial early years of the German Republic. Because of local conditions, what happened in the great port city was in some respects unique, but in other, more significant respects it was typical of what happened in other parts of Germany. It thus supplies a clue to the genesis and impact of certain sociopolitical problems and difficulties that accompanied the debut of German democracy.

The key phenomena in Hamburg almost immediately after the Revolution of November 1918 were the conflicts between the old, conservative craft unions and the newer, radical industrial unions and the simultaneous decline of the Majority Socialists (SPD), a main pillar of the new democracy. By 1924, the last year surveyed in the study, the local unions and labor parties had lost much of their political strength. Duplicated elsewhere in the country, this erosion was to have tragic consequences for Germany, Europe, and the world.

It should be noted that the author has employed statistical and other special methodological techniques in analyzing the voting behavior of labor, the social characteristics of the leadership and membership of trade-unions and related political parties, and the internal evolution of occupational organizations.

The connection between the vicissitudes of the labor movement and the fortunes of German democracy has often been pointed out, but, by conducting an intensive study of one important locality, the author has added new dimensions to what we know about the failure of the democratic experiment. This example should be followed by other scholars interested in the sociopolitical history of the Weimar Republic.

University of Chicago S. William Halperin

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DAS NS-GESCHICHTSBILD UND DIE DEUTSCHE GESCHICHTSWISSENSCHAFT. By *Karl Ferdinand Werner*. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1967. Pp. 123. DM 6.80.)

PROFESSOR Werner fails to develop a coherent picture of the Nazi concept of history, but he has assembled some interesting data on the attitude of German historians during the Nazi era. One gathers from his observations that the majority were not committed Nazis, but many were ready to accept Nazi doctrines and policies since these did not differ very much from their own conservative-authoritarian and racist views. This did not prevent individual historians from questioning some Nazi theories that they found untenable as scholars, and Werner shows how such refutation could be made rather openly provided it was accompanied by a saving reference to the *Führer*'s views. But Werner's conclusion is that most German historians who supported the Third *Reich* did so from conviction rather than fear.

Werner's observations are the more significant because, as a medievalist, he draws most of his illustrations from work done on the Middle Ages—a comparatively "safe" area presumably not subject to as close political scrutiny as work done in modern and recent history. The book is not free of inconsistencies, and its involved style makes it at times all but unintelligible, but within its limitations it makes a contribution to a problem area that is still in need of systematic investigation.

Ohio State University ANDREAS DORPALEN

DIE VERDRÄNGUNG DER JUDEN AUS DER WIRTSCHAFT IM DRITTEN REICH. By *Helmut Genschel*. [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Number 38.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1966. Pp. 337.)

GENSCHEL's study, in examining the elimination of German Jews from economic life in the Third *Reich*, elucidates the immediate antecedents of Nazi genocide policies. By drawing skillfully upon Jewish newspapers and publications before 1938, documents from the Nuremberg Trials, and a few unpublished sources, the writer has constructed a very informative and readable account of the subject. His historical description and analysis follow chronologically the unfolding events. Statistical data incorporated in the text and systematized in an appendix and several illuminating case studies aptly substantiate the broader generalizations.

Genschel places his examination of the crucial phase between 1933 and 1939 into a broader context by pointing out that Jewish political and social eminence, attained many decades before the coming of Hitler, largely resulted from the strong representation of Jews in German banking, finance, trade, and industry. This favorable economic position generated modern lower-middle-class anti-Semitism, and, in turn, fanned racist anti-Semitism into a mass movement. He asserts, lastly, that the annihilation of Jewry could only come under the impact of racist-ideological total war. Yet the evidence for these themes remains sketchy at times. For instance, it would have been helpful to establish a clearer relationship between economic anti-Semitism and racist-ideological anti-Semitism since the latter lay at the heart of Nazi efforts to eliminate the Jews from their "position of dominance" in Germany.

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No doubt the most valuable part of the book is its detailed treatment of the years 1933 to 1939. Harassment and boycotts instigated by the Nazis in April and during the summer of 1933 portended the regime's Draconic measures against the Jewish minority. Genschel does emphasize, however, that, before 1938, political and international considerations and the resistance of the ministerial bureaucracy kept the party and the German government from wholesale removal of Jews from their jobs, except in the civil service, and that Aryanization of Jewish businesses and factories, imprisonment, and even isolated murders were more often the result of sporadic actions of the Nazi party organizations and profiteering party leaders than the expression of a systematic policy. This was to change with German economic recovery and full rearmament. In November 1938 the *Reichskristallnacht* set the stage for the ruthless liquidation of Jewish property and the removal of practically all Jews from positions of gainful employment in the professions, business, and industry within a matter of months. Deprived of their means of existence, Jews had no choice but to emigrate; yet they often encountered great difficulties obtaining immigrant visas, a fact aggravated by the decimation of funds and property through Nazi expropriation. Because of this and the uncertain prospects of finding suitable employment in foreign countries, over 25 per cent of German and Austrian Jews (about 224,000) still remained in Nazi Germany by 1941, and with few exceptions were exterminated.

Raymond College, University of the Pacific GEORGE P. BLUM

ERINNERUNGEN 1953–1955; ERINNERUNGEN 1955–1959. By *Konrad Adenauer*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1966; 1967. Pp. 500; 551.)

AUTHOR Konrad Adenauer does not do Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer any more justice in the second and third volumes of his memoirs than he did in the first. Yet he should be read, in the original, as no translation is impending.

Potential readers must beware of the dates used to divide the three volumes. They are unreliable as an indication of the contents; the title page of the second volume of the *Erinnerungen* is even more misleading than that of the third. It is said to cover the years 1953 to 1955, but it also deals with events and problems of 1950, 1951, and, especially, 1952, when the legendary Stalin note of March 10 and its sequel appeared and Kurt Schumacher died.

The first two chapters deal with the abortive political war to reunify Germany, from reunification proposals of spring 1950, a few months after the foundation of the two republics, until the defeat of Russia's diplomatic and propaganda offensive, which Adenauer treats as a "War of Notes," for the possession of public opinion. After a chapter devoted to German-Jewish relations, German restitution to Jews, and reparation to Israel, which begins in 1951, deals in detail with the Luxembourg agreement of 1952, and ends with Adenauer's visit to Israel in 1966, the volume returns to the struggle to integrate the Federal Republic with the West. Its high points are the portents of an East-West *détente* in the months after Stalin's death, the East German rising of June 1953, the four-power conference of Foreign Ministers in Berlin in early 1954, the defeat of the European Defense Community in the French National Assembly in August, and the operation to rescue Western unity

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conducted at the London and Paris Conferences in September and October of that year. The volume concludes with three chapters devoted to the struggle to get the Paris agreements ratified; the summer of the Geneva Conference of 1955, with its "Spirit" of Genevan and Russian agreement to the Austrian State Treaty; and the visit to Moscow of the Chancellor of the newly sovereign Federal Republic.

The third volume treats the Geneva Conferences of 1955 in greater detail and continues with the nerve-wracking developments that followed. But Adenauer the memoir writer agrees with Adenauer the Chancellor: nerves are there to be kept, not lost. He describes in plain and very unadorned language what he had practiced: once he had thought a matter through and come to certain conclusions, he would adhere to those conclusions, whatever the chorus of exhortation to flexibility. That chorus became loud after Khrushchev's Berlin ultimatum of November 1958, but Adenauer was firm and hoped his allies would be also.

Dulles died, and Macmillan went to Moscow. But De Gaulle ruled firmly in Paris. He had returned to power in the spring of 1958, and the whole volume is implicitly and explicitly concerned with him. It spells out German apprehensions at his coming and how they were allayed.

The book ends with the war of succession in Bonn. The last chapter is demurely entitled "The Election of the Federal President, 1959." Lübke, the man who was elected, hardly appears in it. The outgoing President, Heuss, does, and so does the man who offered himself as presidential candidate and then withdrew his candidacy when it was clear that Erhard would succeed him as Chancellor. He preferred to remain in office for another four years. Both decisions, to stand and to step down, were made in the interests of maintaining the continuity of his policy. Constitutionally the drama was not an edifying spectacle. Adenauer preferred continuity to edification. We can now see that the two decisions were not as frivolous as they appeared at the time.

The style of the *Erinnerungen* is rarely inspired, with light relief only afforded by an occasional caustic turn of phrase. The author adheres closely to his documents, and that is where interest and novelty tend to lie. The book, while not as readable as one might wish, is indispensable for the history of the fourteen years following the Second World War—the life span of the Weimar Republic. There is much repetition in these memoirs of what one can read elsewhere, but there is also much else. And it is, of course, interesting to see what the author says and does not say about events he so powerfully helped to shape.

Institute for Advanced Study BEATE RUHM VON OPPEN

DOUBLE EAGLE AND CRESCENT: VIENNA'S SECOND TURKISH SIEGE AND ITS HISTORICAL SETTING. By *Thomas M. Barker.* ([Albany:] State University of New York Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 447. $12.50.)

THE climactic crisis of the long confrontation between cross and crescent, the second siege and the relief of Vienna in 1683, offers such great dramatic possibilities to writers that it has become the subject of an immense body of literature, well over three thousand items in all. For many years now Reinhard Lorenz' *Türkenjahr 1683* (1933), has been used as the standard work, though

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it was marred by its heavy Pan-German orientation. Though some contemporary and near contemporary accounts existed, there were no major modern works in English. Recently this omission has been remedied. Professor John Stoye published his perceptive and well-written *The Siege of Vienna* (1964), and now Professor Barker has added the present volume.

His monograph offers few surprises for the specialist reader who is advised to skip the first part of the book surveying the state of Europe in the years 1648 to 1679. Even so, this survey is useful because it provides a summary of the events leading up to the Turkish offensive. More important, however, are the second and third parts of the book, which give able and clear presentations of the major political and military figures, the diplomatic negotiations, the respective military establishments, the field operations, and the siege itself. The author offers, in particular, a most detailed account of the defense measures taken within the city as well as a good analysis of the field operations.

After analyzing the military situation the author arrives at the orthodox conclusion that, operating at the extreme end of its logistical support, the Ottoman army was no match for the heterogeneous, but far more up-to-date, forces of the great Christian coalition. Once the original offensive impulse was spent, the military level of competence of the Christian forces, especially their fire and shock tactics, was far above that of the Turkish soldiery. This book is well balanced and objective: it neither leans to the Pan-German Srbik school; nor does it extol John Sobieski as the savior of Europe. Within the besieged city, the author pays due tribute to the commander, Count Starhemberg, but observes that neither citizens nor civic militia played a great or creditable part and that the real heroes of the siege were the common soldiers of the Habsburg army.

The greatest shortcoming of this able book is the very limited use of unprinted sources and references. The topic is huge and cries for revision based on original documents, but the author, stating that these materials have long been mined to exhaustion, has mainly relied on printed sources, memoirs, and studies, which he has indeed ransacked with great diligence. Even so, a search of the archives, especially of the *Feldakten* in the *Kriegsarchiv Wien,* might well have been productive.

As it stands, however, the book is an extremely valuable compendium of information brought together with great care, well written, and often enlightening. It surpasses Lorenz' work in objectivity, and its formidable apparatus and bibliography make it more useful for reference purposes than Stoye's work.

University of New Mexico GUNTHER E. ROTHENBERG

STATE ABSOLUTISM AND THE RULE OF LAW: THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CODIFICATION OF CIVIL LAW IN AUSTRIA 1753–1811. By *Henry E. Strakosch.* ([Sydney:] Sydney University Press. 1967. Pp. vii, 267. $8.00 U.S.)

THE topic of this highly original book is in substance the creation of the Austrian Civil Code of 1811, one of the truly great law codes of modern times, which evolved throughout two generations of legislative efforts. The first stage of the reforms under Maria Theresa was successful only in regard to the separation of

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the judicial branch of government from the administrative, a division still rather incomplete at that time. The second, far more advanced phase under Joseph II failed to achieve a satisfactory compromise between enlightened absolutism, an equally absolute kind of secular natural law, and the traditions of corporate estates government. Only after the French Revolution, when the principle of "democratic absolutism" had likewise run into difficulties, was Franz von Zeiller, one of the most important Austrian legal reformers, able to conclude the great work successfully. He anchored it in the Kantian philosophy of law according to which the nexus between moral and legal order rests not in any outside force but in obedience to the law itself.

The influence of Kant's philosophy on the Austrian codification may have been overemphasized, and the strongly pragmatic impact correspondingly somewhat underrated, yet the basis of the problem is perceived with keen discernment: "the codification of civil law" as "an attempt to reconcile the modern notion of the state as the supreme public authority. . . . with the idea of the rule of law as an . . . absolute category of social cohesion and as such not subject to the supreme will of public authority."

Unfortunately the study is somewhat marred by frequent discourses, repetitions, and occasional contradictions. The sweeping conclusions pertaining to the principles of a general international legal order add little to its strength. The difficult problem of communicating with the reader on the substance of legal theory without elucidating basic legal concepts has not been completely solved either. Yet the positive aspects of the book heavily outweigh these objections. Beyond the field of professional jurisprudence, this is a first attempt to perceive legal history not as discussion of social institutions—which is, of course, fully legitimate—but as an essential part of intellectual history or, more specifically, that of the conflicting philosophies of law inherent in social institutions. In selecting civil rather than criminal law as the object of his study, Professor Strakosch has avoided a simplistic approach and has tackled the more comprehensive and more complex one. This challenging study thus opens the way for further reflection and research. Something new, important, and truly valuable has been added to Austrian historical literature.

Rutgers University ROBERT A. KANN

ZWINGLI'S THEOCRACY. By *Robert C. Walton*. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 258. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR Walton has substantially contributed to our knowledge of both Zurich and Zwingli by seeking to discover the respective roles the "Reformer" assigned to the clergy and the magistracy in establishing his theocracy, or "rule of God." While pursuing his basic purpose, he carries on a running argument with Anabaptist historians who claim that Zwingli originally believed in a free church of committed Christians. He points to the early influence of Erasmus, who maintained that only a Christian prince or magistracy could reform the Church, and of Melanchthon, who clung to the medieval conception of a dual regimen, but he shows that Zwingli went beyond both in meeting the exigencies of his time.

Through a close examination of Zwingli's theological writings as well as his

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relations with the Zurich city council, his radical followers, and the conservative opposition, Walton produces a well-reasoned analysis of Zwingli's corporate theory of society. Following such scholars as Leonhard von Muralt, Alfred Schultze, and Bernd Moeller, he maintains that Zwingli derived this theory from the Zurich Constitution, a document based on the medieval assumption that the magistrates constituted the delegated authority of the assembly of all citizens, a *corpus christianum* that contained both the political body and the church congregation. The council had the authority, therefore, to supervise both political and external religious matters for the common welfare but not to interfere with the clergy in matters of dogma or cult.

Zwingli, Walton shows, held that the Bible, not the Catholic Church, was the depository of God's will, which the clergy was obligated to expound to both the magistracy and the assembly of citizens. Whereas the magistracy exercised all secular power, controlled the external affairs of the Church, and made possible the preaching of the Gospel according to the Bible, the clergy performed only spiritual functions. Since Zwingli believed that the preaching of the Gospel, guided by the Holy Spirit, not the precipitate action demanded by the radicals, eventually would produce reforms, he consistently cooperated with the city council in pursuing a moderate course.

Walton's study must be reckoned with in subsequent assessments of Zwingli's influence as a political thinker and of the relation between the clergy and the laity in the spread of the Reformation. Historians no longer can assume that Zwingli directed the political affairs of Zurich, but must agree with Walton, Kurt Spillmann, Martin Haas, and others that he influenced politics only indirectly through his theology.

Ohio State University HAROLD J. GRIMM

NUNZIATURE DI VENEZIA. Volume V (21 MARZO 1550–26 DICEMBRE 1551); Volume VI (2 GENNAIO 1552–14 LUGLIO 1554). Edited by *Franco Gaeta*. [Nunziature d'Italia, Secoli XVI–XVIII. Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1967. Pp. xiv, 351; 398. L. 5,000 each.)

THESE two volumes are the latest to appear in an ambitious project to publish the papers of the more important papal legations in the early modern period. So far volumes have appeared representing legations in Naples, Turin, Venice, and Cologne, but the project is still in its infancy, and the Venetian series, with only five volumes, is running ahead of the others. These volumes contain the correspondence of Ludovico Beccadelli (1501–1572) as nuncio in Venice from March 1550 to July 1554. Of the 418 letters about three-fourths are from Beccadelli, and two-thirds of these are directed to two successive secretaries of Julius III. For the most part Beccadelli's letters are reports of his official business. Their chief interest lies in his concern for problems arising from threats of heresy and his execution of antiheretical policies of the Church (and he has high praise for the zeal of the Venetian government in this matter). On the other hand, much of his attention was taken up with more routine matters of slight interest, such as settlement of internal ecclesiastical problems, state taxation of Church wealth, and

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negotiations with the state for shipment of grain from papal ports. In addition, from his vantage point in Venice Beccadelli was well informed on European affairs in general, and one of his responsibilities was to pass on to his superiors whatever information he could obtain. His letters are full of news dispatches especially about affairs in the eastern Mediterranean, Germany, England, and, of course, Italy; although they are very brief, taken together they reflect a wide-ranging view of the complex and tense international situation during some of the more crucial years of the Reformation. On the whole, Beccadelli's letters are short and to the point, with only a minimum of comment and anecdote, and it cannot be said that they provide very exciting reading. They tell us little about the man himself except that he was a conscientious and obedient representative of the Vatican. Beccadelli, however, is not without his interest as a minor figure among the early liberal reformers within the Church—he had been a close associate of Contarini—but there is little about that here. Apparently extensive private correspondence survives, for we are promised further information about it later.

This edition of his official correspondence as nuncio follows the high standards of the other volumes in this series, although the editor's introduction and notes are minimal. Especially welcome is an introductory calendar that serves as a detailed and thorough table of contents to the collection.

Kent State University RICHARD A. GOLDTHWAITE

ISTRUZIONI E RELAZIONI DEGLI AMBASCIATORI GENOVESI. Volume VI, SPAGNA (1721–1745). Edited by *Raffaele Ciasca*. [Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1967. Pp. xxi, 542. L. 5,000.)

THIS excellent volume in Raffaele Ciasca's series of instructions to and reports from the Genoese ambassadors centers on the struggles of the old republic of Genoa to maintain its independence against its greatest enemy of modern times, Piedmont. The documents presented vividly portray Genoese fear of the kings of Piedmont, who, driving to the sea, sought to annihilate the republic and incorporate Genoa and the Ligurian coast into their domains.

The first half of the volume covers a rather long period, 1721–1739, and deals with such things as the start of the revolt of Corsica and the zealous plans of Elizabeth Farnese to find thrones for her sons in Italy. These plans made Genoa, the port of access to Lombardy, strategically important to Spain. The second half concentrates on a much shorter period, 1740–1745, and rightly so, for it was during the War of the Austrian Succession that Genoa faced the greatest danger in the years spanned by this volume. Securing, through the Treaty of Worms of 1743, the consent of England and Austria to annex the Mark of Finale and, thereby, the means to cut the republic in half, Piedmont mortally threatened Genoa's existence by confronting it, in the words of its ambassador to Madrid, with "almost certain and total ruin." The instructions and reports dealing with the crisis tell a fascinating story. Having traditionally tried to ensure the survival of the republic by clinging to neutrality, its rulers now had to face the fact that

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they could only save Finale by an alliance with Spain and France. They reluctantly opened negotiations for such an alliance. Spain and France, on their part, wanted to send their armies into Piedmont and Lombardy, which had been earmarked by Farnese for the Infante Philip, from the Ligurian coast. But well aware of the dangers of abandoning neutrality, particularly of the likelihood, repeatedly stressed, that if necessary Spain and France would abandon the republic to the tender mercies of Piedmont and Austria (which was what actually happened), they desperately delayed concluding the alliance until May 1, 1745, when they secured every possible guarantee, such as the pledge of Spain and France to reduce Alessandria and Tortona and, even after this, to maintain forces in Piedmont superior to those of its king.

University of California, Santa Barbara DONALD A. LIMOLI

LA POLITICA ECONOMICA DELLA RESTAURAZIONE ROMANA. Edited by *Raffaele Colapietra.* [Banco di Napoli, Biblioteca di storia economica, Volume III.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1966. Pp. cviii, 519.)

THIS volume adds significant scholarly contributions to Italian economic history and the history of the Restoration (1815–1830) in Italy. The thirty-seven economic treatises and reform proposals addressed to the government of the Papal States that have been published in this work are of particular interest to students of Italy's modern economic development, a field that until the last two decades was left to a handful of scholars, notably Gino Luzzatto, or to political polemicists. Although these documents will primarily interest the specialist, the editor's accompanying essay provides an excellent analysis of the materials that should assist all students of Italian history.

Colapietra's lengthy introduction is organized in three sections: a general treatment of economic theories prevalent in the Papal States during the Restoration, a discussion of the reformers and their projects, and an analysis of government leaders and the problems that they confronted. Colapietra notes that legislation enacted during the era of French domination thoroughly exposed anachronisms in the Roman social structure but that efforts to stimulate the economy proved sterile because there was no middle class to achieve economic reforms comparable to the advances made in government and the administration of justice. The Roman governing class of the Napoleonic era was not the entrepreneurial group that supported reforms elsewhere, but rather a professional and aristocratic element that enjoyed a political hegemony bound to French interests. Its economic role was therefore arbitrary and parasitic. For this reason, and because the mercantile element of the Restoration era, far from expanding its activities, tended toward cautious conservation of existing assets through monopolies, state paternalism was not so much a conscious reactionary impulse as it was an almost indispensable counterweight to middle-class inadequacies. On the other hand, it should be noted that a desire to maintain social order led the ecclesiastical hierarchy almost instinctively to prefer an agrarian society and to discourage, if not suppress, nascent commercial and industrial development.

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The emphasis placed on agriculture, especially on the expansion of wheat production, particularly hurt economic growth because Russian competition in European markets cut the price of wheat 50 per cent during the 1820's.

This work is part of a series of volumes on the economic history of modern Italy sponsored by the Bank of Naples. One hopes that future volumes will maintain the standard set here.

Rhode Island College ARMAND PATRUCCO

FRANCESCO I E FERDINANDO II. By *Ferruccio Ferrara.* (Naples: Fausto Fiorentino. 1967. Pp. 110.)

Ah King is the title W. Somerset Maugham gave to a collection of short stories. Ferruccio Ferrara's nostalgic stories of the nineteenth-century Neapolitan monarchs Francis I and Ferdinand II may well be styled "Ah Kings." If the aim of history is not to instruct but to please—to twist Maugham further—this memoir of palace and piazza lore from the Two Sicilies will meet that requirement. The footnotes refer to obvious printed sources, particularly to the translation of Harold Acton's *The Last Bourbons of Naples,* and Ferrara, like Acton, attempts to rehabilitate both father and son. As Laurence Sterne acknowledged in 1768, "the Bourbon is by no means a cruel race: they may be misled like other people; but there is a mildness in their blood." Ferrara shuns a Naples "hatching furies, revolutions and plots of civil war"; he recalls instead a "romantic Naples arousing especially in its intoxicating daylight, love for its serene life, starry-eyed women, serenade-inviting sea. . . ." At the same time, he agrees that his pages "do not have a true and proper historical pattern."

Francis, who reigned from 1825 to 1830, has been handled with scant kindness by English-speaking writers. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* provides the epitome: "He left the government in the hands of favourites and police officials, and lived with his mistresses, surrounded by soldiers, ever in dread of assassination." Frederick B. Artz concurred: "The government was left to royal favorites, while the king lived with his mistresses, heavily guarded and in hourly dread of assassination." Ferrara emphasizes Francis' filial devotion, his resistance to the overbearing Lord William Bentinck, his attempt to chastise the Barbary pirates (spoiled by damp gunpowder), his dismissal in 1827 of the Austrian whitecoats. Ferdinand II, King "Bomba" to liberals, was redeemed by the goodness and piety of Maria Cristina, his first queen. Ferrara's interest in the lady goes back to 1943 when he published a study on Ferdinand's marriage negotiations with the Turin royalty. It was entitled *Fra i Borboni e i Savoia,* and it gained the approval of Benedetto Croce. Another book of Ferrara's on the subject is *Napoli Cent'Anni Fa: 1857–1957.* Despite William E. Gladstone's strictures, Ferdinand was not a graceless ruler for an old-fashioned land during the period from 1830 to 1859. A foxed travel account of 1853 describes Sicily as a place "where time is still reckoned by the primitive method, where the lottery courier outstrips the post, and the balcony takes the place of the fireside." That its Prince should be taxed with bonhomie—the *Britannica* again—is a credit. The author missed the story of the Duchess of San Teodoro who once wore the

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family diamonds when she and her husband dined with Ferdinand. He complimented her on her jewels, saying "It is not a necklace for a subject, it is a necklace for a queen."

A handsome job of Italian bookmaking, with a dozen plates, Ferrara's sentimental journey to the Bourbon Sicilies is better for relaxation than for reference. Ah kings!

University of Miami DUANE KOENIG

DALLA MEMORIA D'UN VECCHIO GIORNALISTA DELL'EPOCA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO. By *Pacifico Valussi*. (Udine: Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Udine. 1967. Pp. 235.)

IT is not always given to men to estimate suitably their place in history. Pacifico Valussi, a journalist of the *Risorgimento* era, judged better than many. He collected his memoirs "not because my part was of much importance, but because by noting briefly certain episodes in the life of one who has lived from times of the first Kingdom of Italy to the conquest of national unity, I summarize what happened to so many others of the same generation." The autobiographical columns published in his *Giornale di Udine* in 1884 have been rescued by the Friulian Academy of Sciences, Letters and Arts; they are presented in book form with handsome pictures. With an eye for anecdote and an ear for phrase, Valussi showed himself a middle-class intellectual of high patriotism. He preached a political reconstruction matched step by step with spiritual renewal. Born in 1813 in the Friulian village of Talmassons, he died at Udine in 1893. Though laureated at Padua in mathematics, he turned at once to writing, directing a number of often ephemeral journals during his forty-six years of living by the pen. He evaded Habsburg censors at Trieste in *Favilla* and *Osservatore triestino,* and he bolstered morale when he was member and secretary of the Venetian assembly from 1848 to 1849 with *Gazzetta ufficiale, Fatti e parole,* and *Il Precursore.* Returning to his own province he ran *Il Friuli, L'Annotatore friuliano,* plus an agricultural bulletin, before a spell of copy writing at Florence and the founding of his Udine paper in 1866. He sat in Parliament for a decade.

While he was absent for long periods, affection for home and his countrymen was always evident. Valussi cultivated distinguished foreigners such as the historian Theodor Mommsen, the free-trade leader Richard Cobden, and the diplomat William Marsh. Among Italians the critic Gian Pietro Vieusseux was his friend; the poet Nicolò Tommaseo, his patron. The one great affair in which he participated was defense of the republic of St. Mark's. When news from the battlefield of Novara reached the assembly, he recalled: "From the president's bench I was looking at all those representatives, and I can say that on all faces was the same expression of sorrow and the same purpose of resistance. 'Resist' was the word that came in unison from all lips when Manin put the problem of what to do. 'At any cost?' the Dictator asked in a clear voice. 'Resist at any cost' was the cry that responded to that question, sublime in its simplicity."

Perhaps spectators see more than participants. Pacifico Valussi's role was usually peripheral, yet he expressed gracefully the gift of the *Risorgimento:*

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"By freeing and uniting itself, Italy has made a promise, and it is to be in the world a force for peace, progress, and civilization. It is a promise that the new generation is bound to maintain."

University of Miami DUANE KOENIG

ITALY FROM LIBERALISM TO FASCISM: 1870–1925. By *Christopher Seton-Watson.* ([London:] Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1967. Pp. x, 772. $19.00.)

THIS first-rate book was long in the writing but well worth the wait. In many respects it is the fairest and best-balanced study now available on the course of Italian history between the end of the *Risorgimento* and the advent of the totalitarian regime of Mussolini.

The author's introduction to Italian history occurred at Blackwells in the autumn of 1943 when he purchased Cecil Sprigge's *Development of Modern Italy,* which had then just appeared. That manual accompanied him from Cassino to Bologna during the advance of the Allied forces, though at the time Seton-Watson often found it hard to connect the devastation around him and the pre-Fascist Italy that Sprigge had described. Only later, during numerous visits to every region of Italy, did he come to understand this connection better and appreciate the continuity in Italy's modern history.

Having embarked upon a teaching career at Oxford in 1946, Seton-Watson was struck by the serious gap that Italy constituted in the English historical literature on Europe since 1870. Not entirely satisfied with either Croce's often excessive praise of the liberal era or with Sprigge's often too brief account of it, Seton-Watson set himself the task of reading what had been published in Italy and elsewhere on the period from 1870 to 1925 and writing his own interpretation. During the twenty years he was working on this book, two other studies of this general period also appeared: Denis Mack Smith's *Italy* (1959), dealing with the entire period since 1861; and John A. Thayer's *Italy and the Great War: Politics and Culture, 1870–1915* (1964). Differences in interpretation and emphasis are to be found in all of these studies, and each in its own way will continue to be useful to students of this period. Seton-Watson's book is essentially political history, concerned with both domestic and foreign policy and emphasizing their interaction. The economic and social sections make no pretense toward comprehensiveness, but they are certainly not neglected. The author does not deal with cultural history alone, but he weaves into his narrative the political roles of such men as Croce, Labriola, D'Annunzio, Gentile, Gramsci, and Salvemini. He avoids Mack Smith's error of extending Fascism too far back into the prewar scene, and he restrains himself somewhat better than Thayer when he treats those who differed with Croce's interpretations.

Seton-Watson's long, well-written book starts out with a fast-paced prologue in which the author comments on the unification process between 1859 and 1870 and discusses the role of the Church and other institutions, the economy, the social structure, and Italy's position in the European state system. The rest of the book is divided into four major parts: "Consolidation, 1870–87"; "Stresses and

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Strains, 1887–1901"; "Expansion, 1901–14"; and "Crisis, 1914–25." A brilliant epilogue traces the contours of Italian history since 1925.

The author has read and synthesized almost everything relevant to his subject. He can hardly be blamed for not having had access to the second installment (covering the period 1921–1925) of Renzo De Felice's multivolume biography, *Mussolini* (1966), or Roberto Vivarelli's important new study, *Il dopoguerra in Italia e l'avvento del Fascismo (1918–1922)*, Volume I, *Dalla fine della guerra all'impresa di Fiume* (1967). In addition to the numerous footnotes and the bibliography of works consulted, the author has provided students with a short, annotated list of the best books in English for this period. An appendix contains a useful list of the cabinets and leading ministers from 1870 to 1925, and a detailed index increases the value of this excellent study of a most difficult period in Italian history.

Vanderbilt University CHARLES F. DELZELL

PEASANT COMMUNISM IN SOUTHERN ITALY. By *Sidney G. Tarrow*. [Yale Studies in Political Science, Number 21.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 389. $8.75.)

THE level of Italian studies in this country has been raised by the publication of this work. Both the author and the Yale University Center of Studies in Political Science, which sponsored the volume, are to be congratulated. The book is decidedly more than the title suggests. The first 100 pages are devoted to a survey of the economic, social, and political "setting" for the investigation of Communism among peasants in southern Italy. The second 150 pages contain a history of the Communist party in Italy—its ideologies, its organization, its leadership, and its fortunes at the polls—with many comparisons between North and South. Only the third 100 pages deal primarily with the announced subject.

The book should not, however, be criticized for this allocation of space. The question of Communism among peasants in the Mezzogiorno would hardly be intelligible without it. Furthermore, the author has created an opportunity to write a history of the Italian Communist party—a history that does not exist in any language—and thereby he has performed a great service for students of contemporary Italy. This part of the volume is, in my opinion, the best part.

Mr. Tarrow sets off sharply the ideologies and analysis of the southern question of Antonio Gramsci with those of Palmiro Togliatti. The former believed that the peasant pressure on the land would lead to a revolutionary situation, which he did not abhor; the latter thought that, while workers waited for the overthrow of capitalism, peasants should accept whatever reforms were in their interests—the famous *via Italiana* toward Communism. Land reform, the author concludes, has alienated peasants from Communism and has benefited the Christian Democratic party. The Communist vote in the South in the last elections seems to have increased mainly in urban areas that have grown rapidly, which implies that they have become industrialized.

To throw stones at a book of this kind is not difficult, but those who inhabit the "glass houses of scholarship" know how demanding the production of such

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a study is and are inclined to hold their fire. It may not be amiss, however, to suggest that Tarrow seems to lean somewhat favorably toward Italian Communists. In his introduction he holds that Communist leaders "represent Italy's most gifted and devoted political elite," which in my experience is very questionable. Secondly, I think that he would have profited from the use of my *Economic History of Modern Italy,* which he does not even seem to know. It might have helped him clarify the statement that the "*Fasci Siciliani* . . . embodied the peasants' hope for the recovery of lands enclosed in 1861." Thirdly, the author's evaluation of the program for the industrialization of the South does not take into account recent accomplishments.

Columbia University SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

L'ITALIA DI FRONTE ALLA PRIMA GUERRA MONDIALE. Volume I, L'ITALIA NEUTRALE. By *Brunello Vigezzi.* (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore. 1966. Pp. lxxi, 1028. L. 10,000.)

THIS extraordinarily thorough work covers the months of July through October 1914. The period roughly corresponds with San Giuliano's Foreign Ministry for which documents are now available in Volume XII of the Fourth Series and Volume I of the Fifth Series of the *Documenti diplomatici italiani.* From close adherence to the Triple Alliance he guided Italy into neutrality and then plotted the possible course of intervention on the side of the *Entente* in his projects of August 9 and September 25. His obsession with the interests of the Italian state marked a breach with the liberal-national ideals of the *Risorgimento,* a breach made even more glaring when Salandra took over as Foreign Minister and pronounced the famous phrase, "sacro egoismo."

This book is not conventional diplomatic history although all of the important exchanges between Rome and the other great capitals of Europe are included; nor is it a public opinion study through the medium of newspapers according to the method so fashionable for American scholars during the 1930's. The topic is Italy in the face of the European war, all of Italy—*paese legale* and *paese reale,* the *fatti* and the *idee,* the parties in and outside of Parliament, the press, and the leaders. Vigezzi has culled many quotations from the contemporary press and from the correspondence of individuals, and he has summarized much else. This has been done with discrimination and full appreciation of the subtleties, nuances, and paradoxes of views among the parties, groups, and leaders. The documentation is tremendous, and criticism of the materials is most satisfying. He has even gone through the reports of the prefects to learn the pulse of the country.

At the end of July the "parties of order" (Liberals, Catholics, Nationalists) were united in wishing for, or at least in admitting the possibility of, intervention on the side of the Central Powers, and the declaration of neutrality was a victory for the "popular parties" (Democrats, Republicans, Socialists—the *Estrema*). But within a few weeks the issue shifted to neutrality or intervention against Austria-Hungary. The about-face of the Nationalists, the new split among the Socialists when Mussolini as editor of *Avanti* proclaimed his belief in intervention, the hesitating and uncertain moves of Giolitti in the background are all explained

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with finesse. In passing Vigezzi notes the irrelevance of the Marxian analysis, but reserves the story of economic developments for a later volume of his series.

Department of State HOWARD M. SMYTH

CINQUANT'ANNI DI VITA ECONOMICA ITALIANA, 1915–1965. In two volumes. By *Epicarmo Corbino.* Edited by *F. Assante* and *D. Demarco.* [Banco di Napoli, Biblioteca di storia economica, Volume I, Parts 1 and 2.] (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane. 1966. Pp. xix, 465; 460.)

THIS work might more exactly have been entitled "Fifty Years of Economic Observation by Epicarmo Corbino," for indeed the volume consists of articles by Corbino, long a professor at the University of Naples, over the period 1915–1965. This is not then, as one might think from the title, an economic history of Italy in the last half century (Corbino had already produced an only moderately successful volume of that kind, *L'economia italiana dal 1860 al 1960* [1962]); instead it contains writings on disparate subjects that range from eye trouble to the economy of the Mezzogiorno. Consequently, the work has no semblance of unity. It is intended to be a tribute to the author from the Bank of Naples, and it is the first volume in that institution's collection "Biblioteca di storia economica," edited by Domenico Demarco of the faculty of economics and commerce at the University of Naples.

Despite the fact that the work lacks unity or any central theme, it is not without considerable merit. In fact, the discussion of the economics of merchant shipping, in which Corbino was a specialist, is excellent and constitutes perhaps a third of the entire work. The reader will also learn much from articles on local finance, Italian banking policy, and the economics of the Mezzogiorno.

Columbia University SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

IL DOPOGUERRA IN ITALIA E L'AVVENTO DEL FASCISMO (1918–1922). Volume I, DALLA FINE DELLA GUERRA ALL'IMPRESA DI FIUME. By *Roberto Vivarelli.* (Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici. 1967. Pp. xiii, 620. L. 7,000.)

RECENTLY Italian scholars have approached the great crisis of twentieth-century Italian history through topical studies. Into this category fall Gaetano Arfe, *Storia del socialismo, 1882–1926* (1965), Franco Gaeta, *Nazionalismo italiano* (1965), and of course Renzo De Felice's two biographical works, *Mussolini: Il revoluzionario, 1883–1920* (1965), and *Mussolini: Il fascista, 1921–1925* (1966). Roberto Vivarelli, on the contrary, tries to draw all the threads together in his examination of "those years . . . in which the origins of contemporary Italy were in reality laid." No serious efforts to comprehend the whole complexity of the period between 1918 and 1922 have been made since Angelo Tasca wrote *The Rise of Italian Fascism, 1918–1922,* which was translated in 1938, and since Gaetano Salvemini delivered his Harvard lectures, now printed in his *Scritti sul fascismo,* Volume I (1961), a generation ago. There is certainly room for a fresh, comprehensive look at the crucial post-World War I era in Italy.

The strength of *Il dopoguerra in Italia* lies in its meticulous thoroughness.

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Roughly half of this first volume is given over to the footnotes, many of which constitute valuable bibliographical essays in themselves. There are also some fifty pages of useful documentary appendixes. This volume primarily provides an exhaustive synthesis of the latest research, supplemented by extensive reading in newspapers and journals of the day. The records of the *Archivio Centrale di Stato* and of several provincial archives have also been employed, mostly to illuminate the civil disturbances of 1919.

Vivarelli's main topic is the spirit of disappointment that infused postwar Italy. For some Italians the war was a point of arrival; for others, a point of departure. Those whom he terms the "democratic interventionists" of 1915 looked for a moral fulfillment of the *Risorgimento;* their ultimate frustration was also that of Wilsonian idealism. The "nationalist interventionists," who saw the war as a struggle for empire, were denied their full expectations in the Adriatic, but they at least had the satisfaction of capturing the Italian state. D'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume in September 1919, with which this book closes, heralded their coming triumph.

Inevitably, regarding a work that aspires to be as definitive as this one, reservations might be made. For instance, while socialist politics are adequately treated, there is no mention of the Catholic *Popolari.* This will presumably be rectified in a subsequent volume, yet the Popular party was founded as early as January 1919. Some might also criticize the rather free application of the word totalitarian to Italy's postwar Right.

These cavils do not detract seriously from the total achievement, however. *Il dopoguerra in Italia* is an impressive and important undertaking that will merit the attention of all students of modern Italy for many years to come.

McMaster University ALAN CASSELS

ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS. Volume IV. Edited by *C. Daicoviciu et al.* (Cluj: Comitetul de Stat pentru Cultură și Artă, Muzeul de Istorie. 1967. Pp. xii, 595.)

VOLUME IV of *Acta Musei Napocensis* is a remarkable collection of distinguished scholarly contributions to the history of Transylvania and of trivial political diatribes related to the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the republic. The volume is designed to provide "scientific proof" for the thesis that the Rumanian Communist party indeed completes the national historical legacy and attains the national historical goal of a free and independent Rumania. Almost every one of the nineteen major articles and of the twenty-seven "notes and discussions" pays at least lip service to that overriding political theme.

Least offensive in that respect are the studies on ancient and medieval history and civilization. The excellent articles on Roman Dacia by D. Protase, C. and H. Daicoviciu, and I. I. Russu offer important, novel archaeological data while at the same time demonstrating the historic continuity of the Rumanians in Transylvania. Four admirable studies on Transylvanian trade and agriculture in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries by S. Goldenberg, S. Belu, Șt. Imreh, I. Pataki, D. Nägler, M. Bunta, and V. Iosub are somewhat marred by the recurrent reiteration of the inadequacies of Magyar and Austrian economic

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and social policies. L. Vajda, A. Csetri, and I. Kovacs present studies with the same qualities and the same defects on similar problems of the nineteenth century. The several articles on the twentieth century, ranging from the Battle of Mărăşeşti in World War I to the contribution made by the miners of the Jiu Valley to the reconstruction of the national economy in the years 1945–1947, are more political than scholarly, but even they provide new information if not new interpretations. Similar considerations apply also to the frequently erudite "notes and discussions."

It is regrettable that the distinguished scholarship of most of the contributors and the valuable materials made available to students of Rumanian history in this volume must still be circumscribed by extraneous political requirements. Fortunately, the basic political thesis does not impose artificially dogmatic restrictions on the authors' presentation and evaluation of the essential data.

University of Colorado STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

GALICIA—HALYCHYNA (A PART OF UKRAINE): FROM SEPARATION TO UNITY. By *Michael Yaremko*. [Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ukrainian Studies, Volume XVIII, English Section, Volume III.] (Toronto: the Society. 1967. Pp. 292. $7.00.)

THIS history of Galicia (Halychyna or western Ukraine) by Professor Yaremko is the first English-language study of one of the most controversial problems in Eastern Europe since Russians and Poles considered Ukrainian national aspirations in Galicia as an Austro-German conspiracy against their own political plans. The author, a native of Galicia, intends to present, as he points out in his introduction, "the material in a popular and narrative style, avoiding . . . as far as possible scholarly type footnotes . . . [,] primarily for young readers of Ukrainian extraction." His book, however, has a wider scope than he implies because it is useful for any student of Eastern European history. Yaremko gives a valuable survey of the historical background. He also presents adequate information about Galicia and its religious, political, and economic conditions, in the past and the present, solidly based on historical literature.

Although the author includes two hundred items, he unfortunately does not mention such fundamental sources as *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie* (24 vols., 1868–1931), B. Janusz, *Zabytki przedhistoryczne Galicji wschodniej* (1910), I. Szaraniewicz, *Rzut oka na beneficya kościoła ruskiego za czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (1875), *Istoria Halytsko-volynskoi Rusi do 1453* (1863), and *Österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie im Wort und Bild* (1898). His material is arranged topically within chronological periods. The author has done this effectively in four chapters: "The Princely Period, 907–1340," "Galicia under Polish Occupation, 1349–1772," "Galicia under the Hapsburgs, 1772–1918," and "Galicia from 1914 to 1945." The perennial problem of Galicia's struggle for independence and its unification with the eastern Ukraine is the leading motif in the volume.

Though the two first chapters are too brief, the third chapter is much better in every respect. The last chapter is more a chronicle, where the author does not analyze, but rather describes a quantity of facts and events that he evaluates from

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his own point of view as an eyewitness. Its presentation, however, is systematic and, with the exception of a few minor errors, reliable. The author's final conclusions are too optimistic and a matter of personal opinion. The contents are well proportioned and well balanced. The selected bibliography is impressive, and several maps and tables are helpful. It is unfortunate that this valuable book is marred by numerous and unnecessary typographical errors.

Finally, it should be said that Yaremko's book must be judged for what it is—a monograph, in which the author has been able to achieve both enough depth for a professional reader as well as enough interest for a nonprofessional reader.

University of Akron THEODORE MACKIW

POLSKO-CZECHOSŁOWACKIE STOSUNKI DYPLOMATYCZNE W LATACH 1918–1925 [Polish-Czechoslovak Diplomatic Relations, 1918–1925]. By *Alina Szklarska-Lohmannowa.* [Polska Akademia Nauk—Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 19.] (Cracow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1967. Pp. 180. Zł. 35.)

GENERAL Tasker H. Bliss, member of the American peace delegation, wrote to his wife from Paris in February 1918: "The 'submerged nations' are coming to the surface and as soon as they appear, they fly at somebody's throat. They are, like mosquitoes, vicious from the moment of their birth." He was referring to the conflict between Poland and Czechoslovakia over the territory of Teschen. That dispute and the tortuous squabble over an insignificant village in the Tatras, the Javorina, were the significant events of the first phase of Polish-Czechoslovak relations. Much has been written about Teschen and Javorina, first by Poles and Czechs and more recently, in a more scholarly way, by American historians. This study supplements the work of Americans by using materials from the archives of the National Polish Committee, of the Polish and Czechoslovak Ministries of Foreign Affairs, and of Paderewski and Skirmut, without significantly altering the main outline of the story.

In the prewar Austro-Hungarian Parliament the Czechs and Poles pursued their separate policies. The effort to break up the Habsburg Empire toward the end of World War I united them temporarily, but after the war they separated again. Poland was bent on wresting territory from Germany and Russia, a course that brought it into conflict with both countries. Czechoslovakia, whose territory was carved out of the lands of Austria-Hungary, saw no need to antagonize Germany and Russia by supporting Poland in its territorial claims. The Poles allied themselves with Hungary, whose effort to take Slovakia from the Czechs by any means—diplomatic, military, or subversive—they supported overtly and covertly. The Poles dreamed of a common boundary with Hungary. The long-unsettled territorial disputes inflamed feelings on both sides.

The author traces this tragic story of Polish-Czechoslovak conflict during the early postwar years in a straightforward, factual manner. Her account is unbiased, free of condemnations, and, on the whole, untainted by Communist party line propaganda. It is a pity that she chose not to investigate the relationship of foreign policy to internal politics and the climate of opinion in the two states.

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Statesmen of the time claimed that their actions were dictated by public opinion, and the validity of these claims should have been investigated. Nor does the author breathe life into such leading personalities of the sorry drama as Paderewski, Beneš, Skirmut, and Piłsudski. The reader is left wondering about the reasons for their decisions and about the extent of their influence and responsibility. How could they have been so blind? To this question, the book provides no answer; perhaps there is none.

Washington, D.C. DAGMAR HORNA PERMAN

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE GRAND PRINCES OF MOSCOW. Translated and edited with a commentary by *Robert Craig Howes.* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 445. $10.00.)

DR. Howes has performed a real service in making readily available one of the most important sources for the history of fourteenth- to sixteenth-century Muscovy, the period of the "gathering of the lands," a process on which the wills of the rulers, and their gradually changing relationship to others, are remarkably revealing.

These wills, and those of many appanage princes, together with interprincely treaties, have long been available in the archaic Russian of their times. Most of them were printed by Novikov in the late eighteenth century and, more satisfactorily, in *Sobranie gosudarstvennikh gramot i dogovorov, khraniashchikshe v Gosudarstvennoi kollegii inostrannikh del* (1813–), which was, until recently, the standard collection. There have been many other published collections, notably S. V. Bakhrushin's *Pamiatniki russkoi istorii* (1909).

Howes has used the most recent version, in which the language was somewhat modernized, undertaken by the late Bakhrushin, completed by L. V. Cherepnin, and published under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences, Institute of History, in 1950 as *Dukhovnye i dogovornye gramoty velikhikh i udelnikh kniazei* XIV–XVI *vv.* He has selected only the wills of the grand princes, and he presents a thoroughly competent English translation.

The translation—an onerous task—is accompanied by an extended introductory commentary and by careful annotation that is unavailable in the Cherepnin version. For this purpose Howes has combed the *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* and has liberally used the careful biographical studies of A. V. Ekzempliarskii, the general works of such leading nineteenth-century historians as Karamzin, Soloviëv, and Kliuchevskii, and the more specific studies by such men as Cherepnin, Grekov, Pashuto, Tikhomirov, Veselovskii, and Zimin. He has duly consulted Dal' and Sreznevskii, and he has included cross references to comparable material in English history.

If there be a few flies in this excellent ointment, they are relatively insignificant, including Howes's departures from Library of Congress transliteration, with excessive use of "y" to serve a variety of purposes. Occasionally his translation of such Russian terms as *udel* and *otchina* is confusing. His glossary is highly useful, but, in Russian fashion, he separates the index of personal names from the index of place names, adding an unfortunately weak topical index.

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All in all, Howes and his sponsor, Professor Szeftel, deserve great credit for this patient, highly competent work, on which Howes has spent seven years.

Brooklyn College JESSE D. CLARKSON

THE LAND AND GOVERNMENT OF MUSCOVY: A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ACCOUNT. By *Heinrich von Staden*. Translated and edited by *Thomas Esper*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1967. Pp. xxiii, 142. $5.50.)

HEINRICH von Staden composed an autobiography, a description of Muscovy, and a plan for its conquest that constitute important sources of Russian history during the time of Ivan the Terrible. He tells of the boyars, the military, the foreigners, the Poles, the newly acquired regions of Kazan and Astrakhan, of geography and taxes, and of corruption, extortion, cruelty, and injustices. He also makes shrewd observations: "The road into [Russia] is broad and clear, but the way out is extremely narrow." An official meets arriving foreign merchants "to see that [they do] not poke into every corner and examine every town." The government of Ivan ("one faith, one weight, one measure, he alone rules") abounds in cruelty; "how long such a government can continue, only . . . God knows." But as he relates both what he knows and what he has learned by hearsay only, and as his purpose is to promote a fantastic scheme for the conquest of Russia, his account must be perused with great caution. It does not speak for itself like the great travel accounts of a Herberstein, Fletcher, or Olearius. It rather resembles, as to its historical value, Ivan's own writings or those of Kurbsky that were so competently edited some time ago by J. L. I. Fennell.

Staden's account, published and edited in a masterly fashion in the original German by Fritz Epstein forty years ago, was reprinted with an addition in 1964. No student of sixteenth-century Russia can possibly forego the use of Epstein's original edition. A good Russian translation by Polosin is also available. A question thus arises as to whom an English translation is supposed to serve. If Esper wanted to make Staden's account accessible to the general public in the United States, a comprehensive introduction and critical explanations would certainly have been needed to put it into the proper historical perspective and make it usable. They are not, however, provided. We simply have a translation of the text, which is based on Epstein's edition. It is an improvement on that made for Esper's doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago, and it is quite acceptable, even if one may argue about some minor points and even if it lacks the style that Baron's translation of Olearius, for instance, possesses. The greater opportunity, of making the translation a valuable addition to scholarship, was missed, however. Epstein's edition has become a classic; it provides the historian of sixteenth-century Russia with an incomparable bibliography and with a wealth of useful annotations. During the past forty years many more publications on Ivan's reign have appeared in German, Russian, and English, and scholars would have benefited greatly had Esper continued the work and brought the information up to date. But this has not happened. The introduction is meager; the annotations are restricted to the most elementary information; the opportunity

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for making a contribution to either the general public or the historian has been missed.

University of Delaware WALTHER KIRCHNER

THE TRAVELS OF OLEARIUS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA. Translated and edited by *Samuel H. Baron*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 349. $8.95.)

IN reviewing a firsthand travel account, one should appraise it from two vantage points: the worth of the document itself and the quality of the present edition. In both instances my reaction to this work is strongly positive.

Travel literature on Russia, both old and new, abounds. Many accounts are worthless, but Olearius' is not. A learned Holsteiner who traveled through Muscovy and Tatary during the 1630's, he was perceptive, witty, and generally sympathetic as he illumined an obscure century in Russian life. Like the Elizabethan ambassador Giles Fletcher more than four decades earlier, he was fascinated by the Russian Church, expounded on the tsar's revenues and administration, described the styles of dress, and marveled at the modes of behavior. His account of Moscow—its appearance, fires, and uprisings—is eclipsed perhaps only by those memorable passages on the Russian vices of crudity, vulgarity, drunkenness, lust, and violence. To a lesser degree than most descriptions by foreigners, Olearius' was not clouded by damning prejudice or weakened by the author's inflexibility in accommodating to a novel environment. Even errors of fact and internal contradictions are less disturbing to the equilibrium of this work than to others like it.

The worth of Olearius is immeasurably enhanced by the quality of its translation into English (the first since 1669) and the careful editing that accompanied it. Professor Baron's translation from the German is notable for both its accuracy and its readability. His thirty-page introduction provides insight into both Olearius the man and his times and a judgment on the weaknesses and strengths of his work. The editor's numerous and informative annotations to Olearius' text further attest to the high scholarly quality of this work. Documentation is based on an extensive bibliography. Baron's edition is embellished by twelve pages of illustrations from the original 1647 edition of Olearius, a single map tracing the route of his several Holstein embassies, and a good index.

The addition of Olearius to our English sources of Russian history represents a significant contribution. It is hoped that more of the perceptive foreign appraisals of old Russia will find their way into such scholarly editions as this one.

University of Bridgeport ALBERT J. SCHMIDT

G. R. DERZHAVIN: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By *Jesse V. Clardy*. [Studies in European History, Number 14.] (The Hague: Mouton. 1967. Pp. 227. 32 gls.)

MR. Clardy's book is called a "political biography," but it tells us little of Derzhavin's political views or activities, unless issues of promotion or preferment are considered political matters. Nor do we learn much about Russian society in

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the eighteenth century and next to nothing about a problem for whose study the life and career of Derzhavin provide superb illustrative material—the rise and role of the service gentry in the political, intellectual, and social life of the country.

What little we do learn is marred by serious inaccuracies. Names are wrong or wrongly transliterated: Derzhavin's father was called Roman, not Romanov; his mother, "Mrs. Derzhavin," was a Kozlov, not Kazlov; it is Nekliudov and Buturlin, not Nekludov and Buterlin; the district in Moscow is called Presnia, not Presn; the people Derzhavin studied are Tatars, not Tartars, and the German tutor J. Roz was a gentleman by the name of Rose. The sense of the sources is frequently distorted by inaccurate translation or an idiosyncratic use of English. Why were Derzhavin's plans for Cheboksary—which were not his anyway—"august"? I. I. Shuvalov could by no stretch of the imagination or of language be said to have been a "schoolmaster" and what were the "viewpoints" of the workers who helped Derzhavin on his archaeological expedition? There is confusion about individuals, governmental institutions, and processes, when the author attempts to identify or describe them at all, and, instead of an examination of the sources and character of Derzhavin's ideas, there are unfounded or trite assertions: Derzhavin's "rigidly nationalistic spirit" is attributed in part to the fact that his father was an army captain, and one of the major conclusions of the work is that the life of a statesman who prefers to maintain the *status quo* is not necessarily an easy one.

There are neither footnotes nor index, and the bibliography is both ludicrously short and dated. If publishers are not more discriminating, we may all drown in a sea of print.

University of California, Los Angeles HANS ROGGER

RATIONALISM AND NATIONALISM IN RUSSIAN NINETEENTH-CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT. By *Leonard Schapiro.* [Yale Russian and East European Studies, Number 4.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 173. $5.00.)

As a way of organizing vast and disparate historical or literary materials, the *coincidentia oppositorum* has much to commend it. It is the most dramatic opening for dialectic, and there have been some great practitioners. Professor Schapiro is not one of these, but he is no slouch, either, and this little book, almost throughout, breathes an air of style and confidence. Whether it actually gets anywhere is more debatable.

The author does not pursue very far the meaning of his key terms. At the beginning, in fact, he assigns them a precise, somewhat legalistic meaning. What he really means is "universalism and particularism." In these terms he attempts to classify and compare a number of somewhat oddly selected nineteenth-century Russian political thinkers in more or less chronological order. He does not use his categories as a Procrustean bed for these figures, but rather as a convenient handle for that aspect of their thought that interests him most: their attitudes toward what Schapiro considers to be the two most striking peculiarities of Russia's long-term historical development—the institution of autocracy and cultural-economic backwardness in relation to the West. A thinker

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who regards these peculiarities as temporary and unessential, or as blemishes or as obstacles to be overcome, Schapiro classifies as rationalist. One who looks on them as desirable or necessary (*because* peculiarly and ineluctably Russian) Schapiro calls nationalist. He does not favor one side or the other, but seems to prefer a canny blend of long-run universalist values arrived at by particularist means and of a pliability sufficient not to compromise fatally the end.

The book deals with many little-known but extremely interesting figures, like A. P. Kunitsin, who taught Pushkin "natural law" at the *Tsarskoe Selo Lyceum,* and the Petrashevets, A. V. Berdiaev. There are also some better-known figures—commonly referred to in accounts of the period, but rarely discussed elsewhere at any length—such as Granovsky, Chicherin, and Shipov. Schapiro's "handle" permits the inclusion of much material.

Yet the book also has some irritating traces of a lawyer's brief for a case that is being argued while the shrewd attorney claims merely to be classifying the evidence. Interesting as he is, I do not believe D. N. Shipov (the liberal-conservative Slavophile of the zemstvo movement) to have been the best exemplar of political wisdom and shrewdness available in the Russia of 1900–1905, even in retrospect. While Schapiro does not say that he was, he tends, nevertheless, to present Shipov as possessing a kind of "nationalist" understanding of Russia and the Russian situation analogous in the liberal camp to the (in my opinion, dubious) "nationalism" of Lenin among the revolutionaries. There is some subtle implication that, if the liberals had listened more to Shipov and less to Miliukov, two revolutions might have turned out differently. Again, Schapiro does not actually say this, yet he seems to turn the reader delicately in that direction. At that point, I left him, but I was glad, and grateful, to have gone that far.

University of Rochester SIDNEY MONAS

KONSTANTIN LEONTEV (1831–1891): A STUDY IN RUSSIAN "HEROIC VITALISM." By *Stephen Lukashevich.* (New York: Pageant Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 235. $5.00.)

WESTERN scholars have devoted increasing attention to the problems of Russian conservative thought and politics in the nineteenth century. Lukashevich's monograph should be placed within this genre of historiography. While Russia produced relatively few seminal thinkers compared with Western Europe during this period, Konstantin Leontiev must be counted among them. Lukashevich's subtitle, *A Study in "Heroic Vitalism,"* places Leontiev in the mainstream of European conservative Romantic thought, which emphasized difference and complexity rather than gradualness and regularity. This type of thought was characteristic of Oswald Spengler, Henri Bergson, and D. H. Lawrence, among others.

Lukashevich, drawing on psychoanalytical, especially Freudian, insights, attempts to show the interrelationship between childhood and adolescent feelings and symbols that Leontiev developed and expressed and the philosophical system that marked his mature years. Thus, the young Leontiev was conditioned by childhood experiences to transform his feelings of religion, fear, and love into his later sophisticated reactionary ideology. Even socialism, if it could be made

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complex, could be included in Leontiev's "esthetics of reaction." Leontiev's main enemies were those who espoused liberalism and egalitarianism, principally the rising bourgeoisie. As a political prescription for Russia, Leontiev offered "Byzantinism" which meant in part the "freezing up" of Russia in terms of social mobility while maintaining a high degree of aesthetic complexity within state and society.

Lukashevich's work is more properly a philosophical than a historical monograph. One misses the link between Leontiev's thought and the ideas and events of the Russia in which he lived. Yet, simply as a penetrating study of an important Russian conservative thinker, it has great merit. It certainly goes far toward explaining the ideological links between Russian thought and the West during a most active period of such intercourse. The value of the book is enhanced by a sound, annotated bibliography and a good index.

University of Alberta M. Katz

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA. Volume III. By *Thomas Garrigue Masaryk. George Gibian,* Editor. *Robert Bass,* Translator and Associate Editor. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1967. Pp. xxi, 331. $8.00.)

Publication of the third volume of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk's *The Spirit of Russia* is a notable occurrence. The first two volumes were originally published in German in 1913. Because of their merit and their pioneering character, at least if we exclude literature available only in Russian, they have since become a classic and have appeared in several editions and in Czech and English as well as German. Indeed one still finds European and American intellectuals whose knowledge and appreciation of Russian thought are grounded in *The Spirit of Russia.* Meanwhile, although the work was obviously incomplete, it was generally assumed that the author, who was soon to become the first President of Czechoslovakia, never wrote the concluding volume. But he actually did, in 1912, and this volume is now being presented in an English translation through the efforts of his two daughters and the many other admirers of the distinguished Czech statesman and thinker. The volume has been supplied with an introduction by Professor Gibian, with notes, and with an index.

When I reviewed a new English edition of the first two volumes of *The Spirit of Russia* in 1956, I compared them to an experimental play where the hero never appears on the stage. The hero has now arrived: he is, of course, Dostoevski, and he occupies, under his own name, more than half the entire volume. Another giant, Tolstoi, occupies some fifty pages. There is also a third part that deals with various writers, ranging from Musset as the philosopher of French Romanticism, through Lermontov, Goncharov, and Turgenev, to "three decadents: Artsybashev, Andreyev, Chekhov." It is Dostoevski, however, who dominates throughout: even Tolstoi is presented essentially as a foil for Dostoevski. Masaryk considers the author of *The Brothers Karamazov* to be a Platonist and a mystic, but also an unbeliever dealing in illusions and resorting to lies, an aristocrat, and often an obscurantist. He fights him fiercely. The attack is narrow-minded, dogmatic, opinionated, and, at times, caviling and petty. Yet it also reveals intelligence, integrity, and occasional penetration. It is a fascinating period

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piece. Beyond that it is a contribution to a discussion of those eternal, "accursed," and open-ended questions of which Dostoevski was a major, and Masaryk at least a minor, exponent.

Unfortunately, even minimum standards have not been observed in producing the book. There are dozens of misprints and errors, including transposed footnotes and confusion of such words as "dual" and "duel," "posed" and "poised," and even "sail" and "soil" (Lermontov's celebrated poem *The Sail* is stubbornly referred to as *The Soil*). In the index one reads: "Berlin, Isaiah, 73. Works by: *Correspondance diplomatique; Hedgehog and the Fox, The; Soirées de Petersbourg.*" This must surely be the most remarkable tribute to Berlin's brilliant study of De Maistre's influence on Tolstoi.

University of California, Berkeley NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

HISTORICAL LETTERS. By *Peter Lavrov*. Translated with an introduction and notes by *James P. Scanlan*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. x, 371. $9.50.)

WHEN Peter Lavrov's *Historical Letters* first appeared between 1868 and 1870, while the author was in exile, the Tsar's censors, somewhat surprisingly, allowed them to be published. Though the government's attitude toward dissent had been growing stricter since 1866, the bureaucrats of censorship, rather typically, saw little harm in the *Letters*. Such broad and obscure philosophical ideas, they assumed, would probably appeal to only a few Russians. Besides, it would have been difficult to make a strong legal case out of Lavrov's general denunciation of social injustice, even though he did exhort "critically thinking individuals" to act, not just speculate, on the obvious needs of society.

As it turned out, the censors' confidence was misleading. Idealistic students and concerned intellectuals received the *Letters* as they might have received a revelation. Well-thumbed copies became prized possessions of those hopefuls who initiated the Populist movement of the early 1870's. Far from lying unnoticed in the limbo predicted by the censors, the *Letters* contributed much to converting Russia's revolutionaries from ego-centered nihilists into a conscientious elite paying off its "irredeemable debt to society," from a faith in the power of studying frog anatomy to a concern for the moral compulsions of history.

Students of Russian history have long been aware of the unusual importance of the *Historical Letters,* but, except for some attention in works devoted to larger topics and an excellent but unpublished dissertation by Philip Pomper, Lavrov's importance has received little acknowledgment in English. This translation by Professor Scanlan is the first complete work by Lavrov available in English, and it is the most complete edition of the *Historical Letters* possible. For this reason, and because the *Letters* are Lavrov's most important work, the book is particularly welcome. They are worth reading even now for their historical insights as well as for their historic role.

Not only has Scanlan edited and translated the text competently (to judge from a random check, there are no obvious errors); he has also provided an introduction—often an obligatory performance in such works—that deserves special praise. With his brief but penetrating critical biography, Scanlan manages to

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place Lavrov's writings in a clear historical context and succeeds in defending Lavrov's philosophy from charges of mere eclecticism. Except for certain obvious errors in the dates of Lavrov's arrest and exile, the book demonstrates careful scholarship and good editing.

University of Vermont WILLIAM G. GARD

THE YOUNG STALIN: THE EARLY YEARS OF AN ELUSIVE REVOLUTIONARY. By *Edward E. Smith.* (New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux. 1967. Pp. ix, 470.)

ONE of the most extraordinary gaps in recent political history concerns the early life and career (1900–1913) of Joseph Dzhugashvili-Stalin. What was permitted to be published on this subject during his lifetime was skimpy, confused, elaborately hagiographic, replete with obvious omissions, contradictions, and falsehoods. It conveyed nothing approaching an adequate or even plausible picture of Stalin's life and activity during those early years.

All this has been evident to scholars ever since Stalin and his flatterers began tampering with the record in the early 1930's. While Stalin was alive, the explanation that commended itself to many of his contemporaries, including Trotsky, was that, in ordering—or authorizing—this distortion of the record of his life and career at the hands of biographers, he was moved by vanity and by a sense of inferiority over his humble role in the party before the Revolution. He was concerned, it was thought, to create a public image of himself as an early revolutionary leader comparable in importance to those eminent rivals whom he was now so cruelly hounding to their death. This thesis offered a conceivable explanation for many of the exaggerations, distortions, and falsehoods in the official biography, if not for all the omissions. So long as Stalin was alive it satisfied many, not all, of the questioners.

If this had been the entire story, one would have thought that after Stalin's death his successors would have been glad to let the curiosity of honest scholarship take its course and set the record straight, particularly after Khrushchev drew attention, in his report to the Twentieth Congress, to the seriously unsatisfactory nature of the official biography. Fifteen years have now elapsed, however, since Stalin's death, and twelve since the delivery of Khrushchev's report, and the party has maintained a veil of total silence over the subject of Stalin's early life. True, in such recurrent publications as encyclopedias and party histories, the more egregious absurdities of the earlier official biography have been quietly toned down. But nothing resembling an adequate biography has yet appeared, and almost nothing that has been published over this entire time in the way of specialized studies would reveal Stalin's life, movements, or activities in the 1900–1913 period. A long series of significant questions continues to beg for clarification. How, for example, did a man not recorded as having any paid employment find the means to live, support a family, and repeatedly travel thousands of miles over a span of nearly thirteen years, during most of which he was much too obscure and unpopular a figure to have had access to party funds for personal expenses? It is beyond the limits of coincidence that no Soviet scholar has undertaken to provide answers to the many questions of this nature

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that present themselves. One can only conclude that the Soviet Communist party, for reasons of its own, is still determined to screen from historical examination a thirteen-year period in the life of one of the three greatest figures in the history of the party: a man who was for a quarter of a century its leading official and for much of that time the supreme dictator of the Soviet Union. Only weighty considerations of current policy could have dictated so strange a disposition.

Stalin's early life has been treated in many works published outside the Soviet Union. None of these is fully adequate as a portrayal of the evidence available today. The works of Souvarine and Trotsky, valuable as both of them were, were written many years ago, without access to much material now available. The late Isaac Deutscher, a great writer and a great analyst of the political ideas of major figures of the Russian Social Democratic movement, was too much of an admirer of Stalin, and too innocent and trusting in his assumptions, to face the more disturbing questions arising from the available record of the latter's conduct. Bertram Wolfe, in his *Three Who Made a Revolution,* made the most significant contribution to date; future historians will continue to be heavily indebted to him, but this work, too, was written twenty years ago, during Stalin's lifetime. It would require extensive amplification if rewritten in the light of evidence available today.

It is toward filling this extraordinary void that Smith's book is directed. It covers Stalin's career from birth to 1917. It is a semipopular work and, from the standpoint of scholarship, leaves a certain amount to be desired. Language is occasionally obscure. The effort to disentangle the confusions and complexities of chronology in the existing record is not always successful. In several instances, notably in the chapter on the denunciation of the Avlabar printing plant and the treatment of the so-called "Eremin" document that figured so prominently in Isaac Don Levine's book on *Stalin's Great Secret,* research and analysis could usefully have been carried further. Hypotheses, as will be noted below, are often treated as though they were proven facts. This volume, nevertheless, represents the first and only attempt to date to pull together the evidence on this entire subject as it exists in the late 1960's, and it constitutes an important addition to existing literature on the subject. Any scholar who now tries to explore these mysteries further will be importantly aided not only by the useful and extensive bibliography but also by the contents of many of the 859 footnotes (though he will, since these notes appear in the back of the book, have to submit to the ordeal of leafing back and forth endless times to establish their connection with the relevant passages of the text). In all, Mr. Smith deserves credit for his courage and persistence in assailing this baffling subject; his book should serve both as an aid and a stimulus to further inquiry.

It should be noted that this is the first published work, to my knowledge, that draws on the archives of the Paris office of the tsarist Department of Police, which have for many years reposed on the shelves of the Hoover Institution at Palo Alto, but were only recently opened to scholars. Of the various documents found there by Smith that bear on Stalin's early life (and it is to be regretted that more of these were not published in full in his work) the most significant and intriguing are two letters from the winter of 1912–1913. One was from Lenin's life companion, Krupskaya, to A. E. Axelrod, then in Petersburg. Of this, only

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a few lines are reproduced in the text. The other, printed in full, was from Stalin to R. V. Malinovski, who was of course the notorious tsarist *provocateur* in the Bolshevik faction of the party. Stalin, so far as I am aware, was not previously known to have had any intimacy with Malinovski. Both letters suggest that the relations among the three men—Lenin, Malinovski, and Stalin—were marked at that juncture, the eve of Stalin's final arrest and banishment, by complications and subtleties greater than any we previously had reason to suspect, but ones, unfortunately, that still defy historical clarification.

Smith is convinced that Stalin was not merely a casual informer but an actual agent of the tsarist secret police over most of the period from 1900 to 1913. He has cited much circumstantial evidence that points in this direction. A sharper focus of inquiry on certain points would, in my opinion, have made his case still stronger. The evidence, as it stands today, still fails to provide definite proof of this hypothesis; nor is it likely, given the measures normally taken by police authorities to conceal the identity of secret agents and given further the ample freedom Stalin enjoyed during the years of his dictatorship to destroy or corrupt the record, that such definite proof will ever be found. Nevertheless, the existing evidence, in its totality, is formidable, and this being the case, it is a pity that Smith has weakened his case by repeatedly using language that treats a reasonable hypothesis as though it were a proven and accepted fact.

It should be remembered, in considering suggestions of this nature, that the Bolshevik wing of the Russian Social Democratic Labor party was not only extensively penetrated by the police over much of the period in question; it also plainly enjoyed a curious sort of clandestine support from that quarter in its struggle against the opposing Menshevik wing of the party, which then appeared to the government as the greater evil. Lenin's standards in such matters were anything but fastidious, and a certain amount of intrigue with the police on Stalin's part might not have been wholly reprehensible in Lenin's eyes, particularly had it proceeded, as seems indeed likely, at the expense of individual Menshevik comrades or of the Menshevik faction as a whole. Be that as it may, the record of Stalin's life in these particular years is explicable, as it now stands, only in terms of a relationship between him and the police less respectable than anything the world socialist movement could ever understand or approve. The weight of evidence pointing in the direction of such a police connection is now so great as to leave the burden of proof, in my opinion, to the person who says he was *not* an *agent provocateur,* rather than to those, like Smith, who say that he was. At this point, it would seem, Soviet historians should have the floor.

Institute for Advanced Study GEORGE F. KENNAN

POLITICAL MEMOIRS, 1905–1917. By *Paul Miliukov*. Edited by *Arthur P. Mendel*. Translated by *Carl Goldberg*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1967. Pp. xviii, 508. $9.75.)

TRANSLATED here are the last 572 of the 816 pages of the text of the Russian edition (2 vols., 1955) of the memoirs of Paul Miliukov, Russia's foremost liberal and perhaps next only to his master Vasilii Kliuchevskii among Russia's historians. The pages deal chiefly with the politics of the period from 1905 to

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July 1917, as viewed by Miliukov who was a prominent participant—first as leader of the Liberationists and the Constitutional Democratic party that derived from them; as behind-the-scenes leader of the Cadets in the short-lived First and Second Dumas of 1906 and 1907; as their leader as elected deputy in the Third and Fourth Dumas (1907–1917); and finally as the leading figure behind the organization of the provisional government in 1917 and its Foreign Minister for a few weeks. A thoughtful introduction by Arthur Mendel summarizes Miliukov's life before and after the period covered by the translated portion of the memoirs, emphasizing his political activities.

In Miliukov's memoirs there is interesting material for comment, including the evidence of his opposition to the war during the crisis of the summer of 1914, despite the fact that he later became identified with the imperialist demand for the Straits, and his effort to dissociate himself from the Union of Liberation as of 1905, which requires explanation. The original text of the memoirs has been available for over a decade, however, and therefore a review doubtless ought to concern itself with the translation and editing of the newly published version. The translator obviously knows Russian well, but his knowledge of Russian and European realities is in some ways deficient. References to persons and places are sometimes obscure: few will recognize "Frakian" as Thracian, "Miur and Meriliz" as Muir and Merrilees (a Moscow department store), "St. Afonsky's Mountain" as Mt. Athos, "Nicholas Chernogorsky" as Nicholas of Montenegro; Stolypin's "favorite village Kovenskaia" should read his "favorite village in Kovno province"; a group of Octobrists called *gololobovtsy* was not the "bare-headed" but the followers of Gololobov; the "suburb of Sergei" was the town of Sergiev Posad; the proper translation of *starets* is not "old man" but "elder." The editing also needed further work. There are many minor errors in punctuation, spelling, and syntax. A number of explanations are made in footnotes (some helpfully carried over from the original), but by no means enough. The notes have been mangled, perhaps by the printer, so that footnote five is to numeral four, and all others up to twelve are similarly wrong, out of a total of fifty-seven notes. The answer to *Vekhi* was not *Problemy idealizma,* as stated in footnote two, for it was published seven years earlier. Miliukov ironically speaks as if Khrustalev and Nosar were different people, but they were the same man, and a footnote is needed to establish this; the date of the Paris congress of opposition parties of 1904 is given wrongly as 1905 (it is also incorrect in the original), and appears rightly as 1904 later, with an explanatory footnote only then; Miliukov's hints about a secret Masonic grouping in the provisional government are unexplained and will be incomprehensible to many. It is a pity that so much painstaking labor should be marred by so many minor faults.

Miliukov's memoirs present us with the picture of a rather vain man who had much to be vain about; a man amply prepared to be a Russian prime minister, but events deprived him of the opportunity he could doubtless masterfully have met; a Russian Wilson or Masaryk who was fated to die largely unrecognized and unrewarded by history. This book may help our generation to come to know him as his memory deserves.

University of Washington DONALD W. TREADGOLD

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PRELUDE TO REVOLUTION: THE PETROGRAD BOLSHEVIKS AND THE JULY 1917 UPRISING. By *Alexander Rabinowitch.* [Indiana University International Studies.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 299. $8.50.)

ALTHOUGH most American scholars in the field of Russian history agreed in 1967 that the Bolshevik revolution was a pivotal event of the twentieth century, neither their published research nor the doctoral dissertations that they supervise bear out their judgment. The scholars' indifference to events that the Soviet regime considers central to its history and work is all the more puzzling since, to judge by Professor Rabinowitch's book, sound scholarly investigations of crucial moments and issues in 1917 are both possible and profitable, even under existing limitations.

Rabinowitch has investigated the murky question of the Bolshevik role in the July uprising. After studying the available documents, newspapers, accounts by participants, and Soviet historical monographs, he offers a convincing and detailed answer that not only provides additional insight into the Bolshevik party but also into conditions in Russia from February to July 1917. This model of a publishable doctoral dissertation is also attractively written. His analysis hinges on the division within the Bolshevik party between the three major bodies present in Petrograd: the Central Committee (itself split between moderates and radicals), the Peterburg City Committee, and the Military Organization working among the soldiers and sailors stationed in or near the capital. Each of these bodies responded differently to the rising pressures from garrison and workers. What Bolshevik leadership there was in the July Days stemmed from the Military Organization's response to the tempestuous impatience of the most radical military units and competition for their loyalty with the anarchists. The Central Committee, with its all-Russian outlook, was strongly opposed to an early seizure of power; the country was not yet ready. Caught between the fury of the militants and his own adverse judgment of the situation, Lenin was reduced to a helpless wait-and-see attitude while the storm raged. Sukhanov, in other words, was wrong; Lenin had no hand in the uprising.

General readers may wish that the author had gone somewhat beyond the objectives of a dissertation writer. Noting that the author has scanned the files of *Trench Pravda* and *Soldiers Pravda,* they will wonder at the indirect contribution of these newspapers to the question of the German subsidies (covered only by a footnote). They will, furthermore, suspect that the author conforms too readily to Soviet cliché in ascribing "the Bolshevization of the masses" entirely to Bolshevik propaganda. Even in his analysis the Bolsheviks often lead only because they follow. Certainly the masses, however receptive to slogans about peace, land, bread, and so forth never acceded to Bolshevik demands for discipline and organization. The relation between the Bolsheviks and the masses, in short, remains problematical. Finally, the author advances no explanation for the astounding achievement of Leninist leadership. The book proves that the party was divided in July 1917. What we also need to know, and what no one has yet convincingly proved, is much bigger. How exactly did the party, in the face of the elemental drift toward dissolution and anarchy, rally the superior cohesion and striking power that elevated it above all its rivals? The answer, one

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suspects, will emerge from the study not only of political developments but also of their sociological underpinnings, and from a more imaginative and probing use of the sources than is commonly found in the Western study of modern Russian history.

Washington University THEODORE H. VON LAUE

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, 1928–1934: DOCUMENTS & MATERIALS. Volume II. By *Xenia Joukoff Eudin* and *Robert M. Slusser*. [Publication of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.] (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1967. Pp. xxix, 357–778. $9.50.)

THIS volume, covering the years 1932–1934, continues the series of documents edited by Mrs. Eudin (in collaboration, successively, with Harold H. Fisher, Robert C. North, and Robert M. Slusser) and provides systematic coverage of Soviet foreign policy and Comintern activities. The editors have sensibly divided the 1932–1934 period into three major components: the challenge of Japan and Germany, and the Soviet search for security arrangements; the crisis of Comintern policy, from the fiasco of the "ultra-left" line to the shift toward a broad "rightist" united front; and the corresponding change in Soviet diplomatic posture, including US recognition, Soviet entry into the League, and the Soviet-French rapprochement.

Like its predecessors, the volume is carefully edited, provided with helpful commentary and an excellent bibliography, and shows a most knowledgeable selection of materials. Compared to its obvious "rival"—the two three-volume sets edited by Jane Degras for Oxford University Press—the Eudin-Slusser work provides a greater number of entire selections, or excerpts from them, but the individual items tend to be shorter; it also includes a greater selection of "unofficial" materials, such as newspaper editorials. While an effort was clearly made not to duplicate what was readily available elsewhere, some overlap was inevitable; a few random comparisons suggest that the present volume may be more literal but less literary in its translations. As before, the editors have provided a valuable and at times illuminating introductory essay.

It is not surprising that most of the materials seem relatively familiar: there have, after all, been other documentary compilations; the number of scholars using foreign languages, including Russian, has increased; some obscure collections have in recent years been republished or reprinted. Even the most conscientious approach requires some subjective selection of documents, or, worse, parts thereof. And by limiting themselves to declaratory and largely official contemporary materials, the editors have necessarily found it impossible to deal with such questions as decision making in Soviet foreign policy, elite conflicts on foreign affairs (other than a tempting reference in the editors' essay), or even the over-all question of Soviet motives and objectives—when Moscow means what it says and when it does not.

It is good to have an additional reliable volume in this series, but one wonders whether the editors' very considerable investment of effort might not more profitably have gone to a more original contribution.

Columbia University ALEXANDER DALLIN

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COMMUNIST RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH, 1943–1962. By *William B. Stroyen.* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1967. Pp. x, 161. $4.95.)

Dr. Stroyen, who has served as a chaplain in the United States Air Force, is dean of an Orthodox seminary and editor of the *Orthodox Herald*. With a fluent command of Russian, he is well equipped to write about the Russian Orthodox Church in Soviet Russia.

As a member of the church militant, he makes no profession of neutrality. In Chapter III, "Communist Operations," his citations are largely from strongly anti-Soviet writers, and he arrives at conclusions favorable to the Church with little effort at a balanced interpretation. In the later chapters, however, he assumes a more judicious tone, recognizing that from 1936 on Stalin had a more tolerant attitude, which in 1943 resulted in the restoration of the patriarchate after most of the clergy and their followers had demonstrated their patriotism.

In his discussion of the postwar period the author, on the basis of an analysis of the contents of the ecclesiastical press and of the pertinent Soviet publications, concludes that, with the encouragement of the government, the Russian Church has greatly widened its relations with the other Orthodox Churches and many other church bodies. In 1961 it even joined the World Council of Churches. The government approves this, apparently because the Church has actively supported Soviet foreign policy, with leading churchmen prominent in the massive peace campaigns that began in 1948. Orthodox hierarchs have sharply criticized American actions in the Congo, Korea, and Cuba.

Within the USSR, however, the author believes that the Church has lost ground, for he reports that of late the Orthodox periodicals have mentioned the activities of only three theological seminaries, whereas in 1947 there were eight. Because the clergy are restricted to the performance of divine worship and may not engage in evangelical or social activities, and since there is very scanty publication of religious literature, he fears that the Church is declining under the pressure of an unrelenting and skillful antireligious propaganda. Thus he regards its future as dark. On the other hand, while he mentions the "catacomb church" reported in our press, he does not attempt to assess its significance.

While Stroyen's findings are perhaps unduly gloomy, he gives convincing arguments for believing that the future of the Russian Church is not promising.

The book contains seven useful appendixes of laws and Church regulations for the period since 1918.

Duke University John Shelton Curtiss

Near East

BRITAIN AND THE PERSIAN GULF, 1894–1914. By *Briton Cooper Busch.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 432. $8.75.)

The Persian Gulf has never developed its own center of power. Thus, its modern history has largely involved contacts of the nations of maritime enterprise with

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numerous and undisciplined political entities of the littoral, mainly on the Arabian side. This became a matter of importance during the twenty years prior to the oil era, which was also the period leading to World War I. The situation shows, to some degree, the action of most of the elements that constitute "modern imperialism," including tribal relations, established and innovating commercial motives, technological change (the arrival of the telegraph and anticipation of the railway), naval and military power, strong and very diverse personalities, and, above all, the ambitions and problems of the Great Powers. To all this Busch has devoted very careful and thorough study and necessarily difficult and sometimes tedious reading, but he emerges as an author by no means lost in the trees; he finds his way to clear and persuasive conclusions.

The outside government most concerned with the region was British India, for whom the whole area was deemed of great importance, and India responded most vigorously to threats of change in the *status quo*. Under Lord Curzon, especially, Indian aggressiveness was sometimes distressing to London—Lord Lansdowne on one occasion remarked that his own milder views "would give Curzon a fit"—but it is Busch's deliberate judgment that Curzon should be given much credit for maintaining and extending the British positions along the Gulf during difficult times. As for the petty scenes in which the players acted, British policy was that of a very polite dog in the manger, and British agents were able and devoted. "We don't want Koweit, but we don't want anyone else to have it." The littlest things could cause distant repercussions, however. Five Omani subjects with French papers broke quarantine at Masqat and were recaptured; London and Paris arranged with difficulty for a decision by the Hague Tribunal. Twenty-five tons of coal left by a Russian gunboat at Lingeh; three flagstaffs (without flags) erected by the British; a German surveyor at Kuwait at a time when the terminus of the Baghdad railway was under discussion: such incidents led to tensions and cabinet meetings. Busch's work nicely illustrates the interaction of local occurrences with the high policy of the great capitals. One by one the successive and often interlocking challenges of France, Russia, Turkey, and Germany were met, and by 1914 there could be no doubt as to Britain's effective if informal protectorate over the whole Gulf. While the shifting relations of the Powers and the periodic diplomatic crises were perhaps the decisive elements, Busch concludes with a tribute to the effective role of the government of India and to the perseverance and skill of such men as Sir Percy Cox, who were situated in the area.

The index is not so much inadequate as poorly adapted to the use of the reader; almost the same must be said of the maps.

Clark University H. Donaldson Jordan

THE ORIGINS OF COMMUNISM IN TURKEY. By *George S. Harris*. (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University. 1967. Pp. 215. $7.00.)

Communism in Turkey has received little attention in the West, largely because it was a political failure. Yet its influence on members of the Turkish intellectual elite continues even today. Recently a number of studies and memoirs have ap-

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peared in Turkey that help in reconstructing the story of communist thought and activity there between 1918 and 1925. Dr. Harris has used books, articles, journals, and newspapers in Turkish—some quite ephemeral—as well as in Russian and the Western languages. He has also had information from at least one surviving participant. His painstaking and valuable account of the beginnings of communism in Turkeys goes far beyond the work of Walter Laqueur and Ivor Spector.

After a brief but informative chapter on pseudoscientific Marxism and socialism in the Ottoman Empire before 1914, Harris concentrates on the postwar period. The story is complex. Marxist influences came from Germany, from Russia, and particularly from France as filtered through Henri Barbusse's Clarté movement. Among those involved were non-Turkish minorities, Istanbul intellectuals, some Anatolian Turks, Russian Turks, and *émigré* Turks returning from abroad. Several protocommunist or communist parties coexisted, weakened or were suppressed, revived, and perished. Mustafa Kemal also created an "official" Communist party to facilitate control of the movement, the course of which was much affected as well by the Allied occupation of Istanbul, the Greek-Turkish War, the establishment of the republic, and Turkey's fluctuating relations with Soviet Russia.

In 1920 it seemed that communism had a chance in Turkey. Mustafa Subhi's party, organized outside Turkey in the Caucasus, was perhaps less immediately dangerous than the "Green Army" within Anatolia, which included several parliamentary deputies and had ties with Çerkes Edhem's considerable irregular forces. But by early 1921 Subhi had been drowned and the irregulars were defeated; thus the chance passed. Legal or semilegal activity was continued by the Turkish Communist party in Ankara and the Turkish Worker and Peasant Socialist party in Istanbul. The former, however, was soon abandoned by the Comintern; the latter, together with its publications, was suppressed in 1925. The tiny communist group that remained went underground or into exile, but many of its important figures, who had always had a nationalist tinge, joined Kemal. Kemal astutely found use for their abilities. The lasting influence of the movement came mostly from those intellectuals whose desires for rapid social and economic change fitted Kemalist patterns.

The tightly written text of 148 pages requires careful reading. It is followed by 2 documentary appendixes, 26 pages of notes, 16 pages of bibliography, and a good index.

George Washington University RODERIC H. DAVISON

POLITICS AND THE MILITARY IN JORDAN: A STUDY OF THE ARAB LEGION, 1921–1957. By *P. J. Vatikiotis*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xvi, 169. $7.50.)

RECENT theorizing about the role of the military in political development, especially in non-Western areas, is reflected in this study, but the author refrains from setting forth a general theory and concentrates on analyzing the performance of the Arab Legion. After a brief sketch of political history, the development of the legion is depicted in more detail, with the period 1948–1956 re-

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ceiving the most extended treatment. The only two cases of attempted *coups*—the effort of Abdullah al-Tel in 1949 and the much more serious crisis in the spring of 1957—constitute the subject of the most thorough analysis. In addition to his formal statement of conclusions, Vatikiotis has reviewed the effect on the legion and Jordan of two outstanding events: the Israeli raid on Samu in November 1966 and the war of June 1967. The author has utilized some recently published Arabic chronicles and memoirs in addition to the published works of British participants. He has also interviewed many of the British officers and officials.

As a result, his brief treatment of Jordanian politics is not only a reliable sketch, but it also includes some perceptive original interpretations. The book is vague about the actual operation of civilian politics, even when the subject is directly relevant to the role of the military. The author rightly stresses that King Husein has integrated the people of western Jordan into the political life of Jordan and suggests that this has reduced the danger of plots inspired by former Palestinians. While he notes that many politicians from western Jordan have moved from opposition to support of the regime, he fails to note that many people from western Jordan, once pillars of the monarchy, now lead the opposition, sometimes from outside Jordan itself. On the other hand, his main conclusions concerning the military itself are convincing and important. Political reliability was ensured by recruiting largely from the "beduin-tribal" element, for the legion as a whole in the early days and for just the combat units after 1949. With the reliable and efficient legion, Abdullah created Jordan, and Husein has preserved the kingdom in the face of the travail that resulted from the incorporation of western Jordan.

University of Illinois C. Ernest Dawn

Africa

DÉCOLONISATION ET RÉGIMES POLITIQUES EN AFRIQUE NOIRE. By *Pierre Alexandre et al.* Under the direction of *Albert Mabileau* and *Jean Meyriat.* [Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Number 161. Relations internationales; Sciences politiques. Centre d'Étude des Relations Internationales, Paris; Centre d'Étude d'Afrique Noire de l'Université de Bordeaux.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1967. Pp. 276. 32 fr.)

American readers, surrounded by a rich and varied literature on decolonization and political modernization, will not find in this volume of essays much that can be labeled new or unusual. The conceptualization and model building that have seized the thought of the American political scientist do not preoccupy the authors; nor does the need for such a thematic approach—one-party states, former French-speaking colonies—as those which hold together some of the more valuable and popular studies in English. The reader may well seek the rationale behind this set of studies. That the volume initially grew out of collective research undertaken by reputable scholars at the Universities of Paris and Bordeaux does not make the final combination any less questionable or any more satisfactory.

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If the reader should complain about the lack of an organizing principle that would set this study apart from others, he will offer no objection to the general quality of each piece. The research is solid; the narrative correct and readable. As might be expected, the sections dealing with French-speaking Africa are more interesting and valuable than those dealing with English-speaking Africa. Yet even here more might be demanded. One wonders why the *Loi Cadre* of 1956, which is widely considered one of the most significant pieces of postwar colonial legislation and at times displayed as an example of neocolonialism, is mentioned, but not provided with a penetrating analysis. The formation of elites (What of the role of the École William Ponty, for instance?) is less than satisfactorily treated also. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the studies herein included, at least to the American reader, is the assessment of the Gaullist constitution of 1958 as paradigm in much of recent French West African political development.

As with many books addressed to contemporary problems, the swift winds of change have toppled some of the scholarly structure in this volume before it had been publicly presented. The piece on Ghana bears the date December 1965; no further comment is really needed. The less than pleasant conclusion I reach is: while the essays in this volume are individually respectable, the whole will find no obvious place on that already crowded shelf of books dedicated to the problem of devolution of African colonial empires.

Grinnell College RAYMOND F. BETTS

L'AFRIQUE AU XX^{e} SIÉCLE. By *Jean Ganiage et al.* [L'histoire du xx^{e} siècle.] (Paris: Sirey. 1966. Pp. 908. 70 fr.)

THE authors of this cooperative work have undertaken the doubly difficult task of writing a contemporary history of the whole African continent. They have wisely repartitioned Africa into their respective areas of regional specialization. The book, on the whole, is strongest in its presentation of economic history, administrative development and reform, and the military history of the pacification of the continent. In addition there are excellent maps and much valuable information on African demography not readily available to the general reader.

The section on North Africa by Jean Ganiage, roughly one-third of the volume, offers the best scholarship and the most interesting treatment. After an excellent introduction to the internal history of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, he plunges into the tumultuous decades of military conquest and pacification, the awakening of nationalism in each of the three countries, and, finally, the emancipation from European control. The reader is particularly directed to Ganiage's analysis of urban social and demographic change in the Maghrib and to his clear insights into the problem of reconciling progress and tradition in North Africa. Appended to this section is a less successful treatment of the Saharan regions by André Martel. His thesis that the Sahara was the keystone of French Africa is not borne out by the facts he presents. Also disappointing is the lack of bibliographic references, so prominent elsewhere throughout the book.

West, Central, and Northeast Africa are dealt with by Hubert Deschamps, whose emphasis, perhaps disproportionately though understandably, is on the former French territories of West Africa. Deschamps attempts a general syn-

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thesis for all of West Africa, but his perspective is essentially European. Although his detailed descriptions of colonial administration and economic development are well done, there is an obvious failure to deal with problems of social change except in the most general way. He would have done well to emulate T. Hodgkin, whose important *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* Deschamps notes in his bibliography. African nationalists will probably be disturbed by Deschamps's bland description of Leopold's Congo, where little mention is made of African or Arab resistance to European conquest and European atrocities are consciously played down. The chapters on the Sudan, Ethiopia, and the Somalias are sketchy at best.

More successful is Odette Guitard's coverage of South and East Africa. Here the reader finds no mere generalizations about detribalization and the creation of new elites but, rather, specific examples of how education and economic development had political repercussions among Africans as early as the 1920's. It effectively demonstrates what V. M. Dean has called the revolution of rising expectations that has taken place throughout the non-Western world. Many problems of contemporary Africa, the author shows, originated in economic problems that first manifested themselves in Africa almost a half century ago.

The least satisfactory section of the book is Guitard's presentation of Portuguese Africa, where there is a confusion of method. Her bitter attack on Portugal is little more than a polemic against the public pronouncements of Portuguese ministerial officials. There is no real presentation of the facts of African resistance in Portuguese Africa, which she is content to describe, in Mario de Andrade's phrase, as "zones of silence." To do so, however, is to ignore significant information about developments within each of the Portuguese African territories available at the time of writing. Especially questionable, and even objectionable to scholarly sensibilities, is her unsubstantiated accusation that the responsibility for the colonial war in Angola is partly attributable to American capitalism. Guitard's statements may in the end be substantiated by the facts, but she presents no such evidence here and mars the quality of an otherwise scholarly compilation and analysis of important materials for the study of twentieth-century Africa.

University of Illinois, Chicago ROBERT L. HESS

À L'ARRIÈRE-PLAN DES RELATIONS FRANCO-MAGHRÉBINES (1830–1881): LUIS-ARNOLD ET JOSEPH ALLEGRO, CONSULS DU BEY DE TUNIS À BONE. By *André Martel*. [Publications de l'Université de Tunis, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines. Fourth Series, Histoire, Volume VII.] ([Paris:] Presses Universitaires de France. 1967. Pp. 241.)

Luis Arnold and his son, Joseph Allegro, whose forebears left Genoa for North Africa shortly after 1780, made lives and careers for themselves in the Maghrib. Serving as soldiers, as translators in the early Arab Bureau created by the French, and as consuls for the bey of Tunis, they played, at best, minor roles in the new development of an old, conglomerate land. They formed part of the European population that worked and lived in those parts of the Mediterranean area where Muslim met Christian. André Martel's purpose is not to write a duobiography but

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rather, through the record of their lives, to illuminate daily relationships, particularly as these applied to Franco-Maghribian affairs. The book rests upon material from archives located in France and North Africa, and Martel possesses a high degree of critical ability and control of the sources.

The senior Allegro (1804–1868) bridged the valley between European and Muslim by placing his knowledge at the disposal of the French. He obtained French citizenship and became an army officer; at the same time his marriage to Khadidja bent Tahar deepened his ties with the Muslim community. Their seven children—Joseph (1846–1906) was the third—were raised as Christians, and their godparents, carefully chosen, provided the best support attainable from the two worlds. Joseph married Alexandrine de Casamayor de Charitte of Pau, fulfilling "one of his dominant ambitions": to marry a French girl of standing.

Most of the volume is taken up with discussion of the official work of the two Allegros. Insights into their private lives are fleeting and superficial. The course of both lives received direction when the French entered Algiers in 1830. Abdel Kader kept Luis Arnold busy with early important liaison opportunities; tribal warfare on the Algerian-Tunisian frontier required Joseph's attention, particularly in the years preceding the creation of the French protectorate in 1881. Martel notes that the decisive phases of both careers related directly to interventions by Jules and Ferdinand de Lesseps.

After reading this study, one reflects that no solid work examining French policy toward the tribes of Northwest Africa has yet appeared. Without such a study we seem to be confronted with innumerable incidents, many of which seem to lack meaning.

A useful glossary, an index of names, and a strong section on sources and bibliography help the reader through this rather complicated and disjointed book.

Oakland University RICHARD M. BRACE

EGYPT & THE SUDAN. By *Robert O. Collins* and *Robert L. Tignor*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1967. Pp. vi, 180. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

ROBIN Winks, the editor of "The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective," has assured us that each volume in the series will "achieve a fresh synthesis and original interpretation." This latest offering by Robert Collins (for the Sudan) and Robert Tignor (for Egypt) is a fine example of what Winks means. Collins and Tignor have successfully written an interesting and sometimes engrossing interpretive introduction to the complicated histories of two ancient yet, paradoxically, new nations. Covering the period from 1800 to the present, the book provides the background necessary to facilitate an understanding of contemporary Sudan and Egypt. Both authors clearly have enough scholarly depth to make valid generalizations, and they carefully view both countries without the ethnocentrism that has often characterized and marred historical introductions to non-Western countries.

The rationale behind treating Egypt and the Sudan in one book can be found in Mehemet Ali's desire "to transform Egypt into the most powerful

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military state in the Middle East." He expanded Egyptian power into the Sudan "in order to exploit its human and natural resources." From then on, as had been the case before, the Sudan was deeply affected by Egypt's domestic and international policies and their results. Collins comments on the negative aspects of the Egyptian period in the Sudan, but states that "although obscured by the Mahdist upheaval and subordinated by the power of the British administration in the Sudan, the legacy of the Egyptian presence during the nineteenth century remains one of the vital influences shaping the modern Sudan." Collins also provides an equally balanced view of the Mahdist period in the Sudan. He then points out that the contemporary conflict between northern and southern Sudan has its roots not only in geography and ethnography; they also stem from the different treatment the southern part received at the hands of both Egyptian and British colonial administrations.

Tignor admirably traces Egypt's early attempts at modernization under Mehemet Ali and Khedive Ismail, Egypt's increasingly severe financial and organizational problems, and the nature of British influence in Egypt after 1881. "The cardinal fact of British rule in Egypt was that Britain's responsibilities for governing Egypt were never total and her powers were inadequately defined. The British were reluctant invaders, hesitant to assume the full powers of government. Hence their impact on Egypt was limited, their programs of social change circumscribed." Egypt's political reaction to the challenges of modern European civilization and technology, so much a part of modern Egyptian history, is well defined by the author. His sketch of the post-1952 situation is remarkably clear to one so accustomed to either journalistic or biased accounts of contemporary Egypt. Then again, the whole book is clear, well organized, and well written. It will be a useful text.

Michigan State University HAROLD G. MARCUS

THE FULANI EMPIRE OF SOKOTO. By *H. A. S. Johnston.* [West African History Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 312. $8.80.)

THIS book demonstrates that an old genre of scholar has not yet passed from the scene. Several colonial administrators who made an avocation of investigating the history and culture of the people whom they administered won the respect and gratitude of academic scholars. After nearly a decade since the British and French colonial systems in Africa were dismantled, this new example of the old genre comes as something of a surprise.

Fifteen years have gone into the making of this book. During the earlier part of this period, the author was the resident in Sokoto, and his tours around his territory enabled him to study the "District Notebooks" in which district officers in the early days of the British administration had recorded their collection of facts and opinions on local history. These visits also gave him the opportunity to consult "old gentlemen, repositories of local history . . . ," which provided him with some original material for the later parts of his narrative. For the most part, however, he relied on written, but not always published, accounts. In this his knowledge of the Hausa language helped him, but for

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Arabic, in which the founders of the Empire wrote their voluminous works, he had to depend upon translations, principally those of M. Hiskett. The testimonies of the nineteenth-century explorers Clapperton and Barth were used, as well as earlier published histories, particularly that of Hogben, which was reprinted three years ago with the additions and editing of Kirk-Greene. More narrowly focused studies, especially those of M. G. Smith and C. Hopen, also helped to enrich Mr. Johnston's history. The most important reference throughout, however, has been Alhaji Junaidu, once his traveling companion on tour, now vizier of Sokoto and himself the author of a history published in Hausa.

The compilation of evidence from these extensive and varied sources is meticulously done and carefully footnoted. The assessment of different interpretations encountered in his sources is not incisive, but it is fair-minded. Johnston's own viewpoint obtrudes at only a few points: he empathizes completely with the Fulani (when they are hard pressed, they are "determined" and "courageous"; when their opponents act in that fashion, they are "diehards"); and he considers this people superior in intelligence to other Africans, which leads to such naïve assessments as that the weak character of Bello's son resulted from his Hausa mother. Johnston's concept of the formation of the Hausa language is untenable, and other references to linguistics are awkward.

The book has more virtues than flaws. Anyone who wishes a smooth-flowing exposition of an important and complex phase of West African history might begin here, but work in progress by Smith and Last will probably soon supersede this book for specialists.

Boston University DANIEL F. MCCALL

AFRICA REMEMBERED: NARRATIVES BY WEST AFRICANS FROM THE ERA OF THE SLAVE TRADE. Edited by *Philip D. Curtin*. With introductions and annotation by *Philip D. Curtin et al.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. x, 363. $10.00.)

STUDIES of the slave trade have yielded a sizable literature, although relatively little of it has been based to any extent on African sources or has considered the African background in more than general terms. Now, under Philip Curtin's excellent editing and with expert introductions and annotations by six students of the appropriate times and places (G. I. Jones, Margaret Priestley, Ivor Wilks, H. F. C. Smith, P. C. Lloyd, and J. F. Ade Ajayi), personal narratives by ten of the more fortunate victims of the trade are presented in a fine effort to document some African viewpoints and describe the African setting.

Two of the accounts were originally written in African languages, most of the others in English, either as self-composed recollections of earlier years or by dictation. The letters of Philip Quaque were written as the events themselves occurred. Although the documents transmit information undoubtedly distorted to a greater or lesser degree, they do convey some previously little-known information, and, above all, they provide insight into the feelings and attitudes of people who were caught in the trade and subsequently liberated, educated, and, in a sense, modernized.

The introductions and annotations, together with the clear maps and interest-

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ing plates, place the narratives and their authors in the perspectives of times and places and aid in interpretation and evaluation. Without such aid, indeed, some of the accounts would only confuse a reader not otherwise learned in African history. Several of the annotators are themselves occasionally reluctant to provide more than tentative interpretations. One can gain varying insight into eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century West Africa: life in Bondu, Ibo culture, the work and reactions of an African missionary connected more with the merchants on the Cape coast than with the slaves, relations between interior peoples and those of the coastal trade centers, Tombouctou, and trans-Saharan and internal trade routes. The four narratives from early nineteenth-century Nigeria yield various views of the complex wars, revolutions, and personal disasters that struck Yoruba and northern Nigeria, particularly Bornu, during those disturbed years.

Curtin and his associates are to be highly commended for their successful effort to make little-known internal sources more widely available and more comprehensible to specialists, particularly historians and anthropologists, and to provide nonspecialists with greater appreciation of the personal dimensions of the slave trade.

Johns Hopkins University ROBERT A. LYSTAD

DAHOMEY AND ITS NEIGHBOURS, 1708–1818. By *I. A. Akinjogbin.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 233. $9.50.)

DAHOMEY is usually listed among the states of eighteenth-century West Africa that participated in the so-called "drive to the sea." As the slave trade wore on, the argument goes, the rulers of some interior states became envious of the large profits being made at their expense by coastal middlemen. The slaves came mainly from inland, yet the purchase price was highest at the shore. Rulers in the interior also did not like having to depend on the good will of coastal suppliers of vital commodities like muskets and gunpowder. Accordingly, they pushed their frontiers southward to the sea in order to have their own ports where they could trade directly with the Europeans.

Dr. Akinjogbin's history of the Dahomean Kingdom from the accession of Agaja to the deposition of Adandozan shows that, for one interior state at any rate, the standard account will not do. The extension of Dahomean power to the coast under Agaja was the result of a desire not to control the slave trade but to discourage it. Agaja, if left to himself, would have favored "legitimate" trade. It was the Europeans, who wanted nothing from Dahomey but human beings, and the Oyos, striving to dominate the Slave Coast, that obliged him to sanction slave trading in Dahomey. Even then, he contrived to make slaving a state monopoly, partly to maintain his revenues but also to minimize its worst effects.

Agaja profoundly modified Dahomey's political institutions: the monarchy became centralized and autocratic, chiefs were appointed to high office because of proven ability rather than hereditary right, and loyalty to the throne took precedence over loyalty to family, lineage, or clan. Although political stability might have been achieved, economic viability was not. Agaja and his successors

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found that no permanent prosperity could be built on so fickle an export business as a trade in slaves. The outbreak of war in Europe, for example, might keep the slave ships of one nation or of all nations away from the Guinea coast for years. Once industry and agriculture had been neglected in favor of slaving, moreover, they could not quickly be revived. Dahomey, like other West African states, entered the nineteenth century nearly bankrupt and with little commercial experience except in the slave trade.

To write this story the author has drawn on an impressive variety of sources: oral tradition, contemporary and secondary accounts, and manuscript records in Britain, France, Portugal, and Brazil. Of particular interest is his use of the departmental archives of Nantes and La Rochelle. A complicated task has been efficiently performed, and the volume as a whole makes a valuable and original contribution to the history of West Africa.

Columbia University GRAHAM IRWIN

KITAWALA: URSPRUNG, AUSBREITUNG UND RELIGION DER WATCH-TOWER-BEWEGUNG IN ZENTRALAFRIKA. By *Hans-Jürgen Greschat.* [Marburger Theologische Studien, Number 4.] (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag. 1967. Pp. xii, 128. DM 18.)

THIS brief volume, a dissertation presented to the University of Marburg in 1965, describes the origins, spread, and doctrines of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society—Jehovah's Witnesses—in Central Africa. The role of the generally accepted propagator of this sect in Africa, Elliott Kenan Kamwana Achirwa, is analyzed in some detail, including his most important relationship with Joseph Booth, author of the anticolonial volume, *Africa for the African.* The survey, based upon missionary journals and Colonial Office correspondence, is competently done and further illuminates the research of George Shepperson, Robert I. Rotberg, and others.

Rotberg has described Kamwana as "occupied Nyasaland's first prophet" (*The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia 1873–1964* [1965]), and Greschat closely follows this aspect of the African predicant's career, detailing Kamwana's preaching of millennial doctrines to African congregations already disposed against their European rulers. The end result, not unnaturally, was Kamwana's expulsion from Nyasaland in 1909. But the Watch Tower movement did not die. Greschat analyzes its progress, utilizing, in addition to the records already mentioned, American missionary archives and interviews with concerned participants. He divides the expansion of the Jehovah's Witnesses into three periods—1909–1919, 1920–1936, and since 1937—and follows them into areas now included in Rhodesia, Zambia, Tanzania, and the Congo (including a valuable section upon the Mwana Lesa affair in Katanga). The author closes with a summary account of the beliefs of the African followers of the Watch Tower movement.

Greschat modestly concludes that his researches have uncovered only a partial picture of the spread of Watch Tower doctrines among Africans. He clearly demonstrates, however, that this imported religion has become a vital African movement and that it is a most important component of those African inde-

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pendent churches that are now increasingly attracting the attention of those who study the relatively recent African past. Greschat has given us a useful first step to a badly needed study of the Watch Tower group. He, or others, should carry the analysis deeper in the future.

Boston University NORMAN R. BENNETT

POLITICAL PROTEST IN THE CONGO: THE PARTI SOLIDAIRE AFRICAIN DURING THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE. By *Herbert F. Weiss*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xxiv, 326. $8.50.)

A PROBLEM of recent political movements in Africa is the relationship between the elite and the rural masses within each country. Weiss challenges the thesis supported by Rupert Emerson and others that the rural masses supply neither leaders nor political impetus to African nationalist movements. In his careful and detailed analysis of events in the Kwilu and Kwango Districts of the Congo, Weiss demonstrates that the Emerson approach does not apply, thus postulating that there is perhaps a factor of political movements that has not yet received adequate treatment throughout Africa.

The details of Weiss's reconstruction make fascinating reading. The concern of the volume is with the *Parti Solidaire Africain* (PSA), a regional grouping, in the few years before the Congo elections of May 1960. Weiss provides a general analysis of preindependence history in the Congo, following this with detailed work on PSA. Particular attention is given to the relation of the leadership of the PSA to its mass following, bringing out the fact that the rural populations supporting the PSA were considerably more radical than their leaders. As might be expected, the PSA leaders hoped to gain control of the administrative structure created by Belgium once independence came; the masses, however, proved more interested in destroying the whole colonial edifice that had heavily burdened them for so many years.

Weiss proceeds with caution through the turbulent events of the last years of Belgian rule, basing his conclusions upon extensive archival research in the papers of the PSA and upon interviews. Useful charts on the chief characteristics of Congo political parties in the May 1960 elections, plus an appendix containing data on the PSA candidates for the elections, increase the value of the study.

Weiss has made a significant contribution to the study of Congolese, and African, political history. Such detailed analyses of single-party structures will provide the basic materials for African political historians in the future.

Boston University NORMAN R. BENNETT

LA ROUTE DES ÎLES: CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE MARITIME DES MASCAREIGNES. By *Auguste Toussaint*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI[e] Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Ports, routes, trafics, Number 22.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1967. Pp. 540. 65 fr.)

AUGUSTE Toussaint is best known for his innovative *Histoire de l'Océan Indien*, which grew out of his mastery of the sources for the history of Mauritius and

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Réunion and their dependencies. He has now made a massive contribution to the history of their shipping. Half of the book consists of statistics, documents and annexes, and maps. The remainder is an admirably analytical introduction that appears both in French and in English.

We are provided with the first fairly complete general statistics of inbound shipping to the Mascarenes from 1773 to 1965. They are followed by more detailed figures for the period 1773–1810, which the author has chosen to emphasize. Toussaint, the chief archivist of Mauritius, identifies the port of origin for ships arriving in that island and divides them into four categories: interisland trade, Indian Ocean trade, voyages from France, and voyages from other distant countries. This is followed by a breakdown of the arrivals in the last three categories, with the addition of unscheduled, in-transit ships, which gives the name of each ship and its captain, nationality, type of vessel, tonnage, and port of registry. The document section contains ninety-three selected statements made under oath by shipmasters to the admiralty in Mauritius upon arrival. Ten concern the slave trade in Africa; eleven touch on privateering. Only one lengthy North American report is included, for the statements of captains from the United States were usually extremely brief.

The statistics show the great increase in United States vessels trading with the Mascarenes in 1796–1808. They easily outstripped all ships flying foreign flags. The attraction appears to have been the cargoes of prizes taken by privateers (annual statistics on the number of prizes are provided). Toussaint is careful to note that economists will not obtain here any considerable data on cargoes and prices. He does demonstrate, however, that Mauritius and Réunion were no longer simply ports of call on the way to the Far East; they had become destinations in their own right. Nor were they so largely cut off from France in wartime as was once believed. Historians of India will welcome the statistics on Indian Ocean trade. Africanists will also find this work useful for Madagascar and for the slave trade from 1773 to 1810.

Syracuse University VINCENT CONFER

Asia and the East

TRADE AND EXPANSION IN HAN CHINA: A STUDY IN THE STRUCTURE OF SINO-BARBARIAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS. By *Ying-shih Yü*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 251. $6.75.)

SINO-BARBARIAN relations throughout the long period of the Han dynasty are peculiarly complex. A thorough understanding of the changing nature of the relationship depends upon an analysis of the relative strength of the barbarian and the Han empires, of the desires and whims of autocratic emperors, and, after the first century of the Han, of the impact of Confucian tenets, which demanded an increasingly Confucianized rethinking of the relationship that should exist between China and its neighbors.

Dr. Yü's study is much more limited in scope and concentrates, primarily and very selectively, on the economic aspects of Sino-foreign relations and, secondar-

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ily, on the institutional factors involved. It begins with broad general sketches of those directly relevant aspects of the Han economy: Han policy regarding merchants, the agricultural and industrial resources of the Empire, and the transportation system. These topics are treated cursorily, but for most readers this is now the most extensive coverage available. In many ways the most interesting chapter is the brief thirty-page history of the evolution of the famous tributary system by which China's subsequent foreign relations were often conducted. Over half of the work is devoted to the treatment of surrendered barbarians and to the patterns of trade that developed on all of China's borders; much of the material is not new, but bringing it together in a meaningful synthesis is. Yü's last chapter explores some of the broader historical ramifications of his topic: he takes up the "Sinicization" of the barbarians and the "barbarization" of the Chinese to suggest the extent to which post-Han history, in which the barbarians played such an important role, owed its beginnings to policies of trade and expansion within the Han dynasty.

This work is not intended to be definitive. It is largely a synthesis of much work already done by Chinese, Japanese, and Western scholars, and herein lies its greatest value. The nonspecialist will find that it provides a general and very readable account of the Han reaction to its foreign neighbors. And, while the specialist will regret that Yü chose simply to survey this involved and vital question, he will, nonetheless, appreciate the volume. It is one of those much-needed summaries that appear from time to time—summaries that provide us with a convenient résumé of the work that has been done and suggest the directions that subsequent research should follow. More importantly, it should remind us that entirely too much work on Chinese history, reflecting the bias of traditional Chinese historians, has focused too narrowly on China itself. The peoples on China's frontiers and their interactions with traditional Chinese states deserve more attention than they customarily receive. Yü's work helps correct that imbalance.

University of Washington JACK L. DULL

RECORDS OF HAN ADMINISTRATION. Volume I, HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT; Volume II, DOCUMENTS. By *Michael Loewe*. [University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, Numbers 11 and 12.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 212, 16 plates; viii, 481, plates 17–48. $8.50; $19.50.)

THESE scholarly volumes are concerned with civil and, especially, military administration of the Han period as it was practiced from about 100 B.C. to A.D. 100 During this period the Chinese had thrust their western boundaries out into Central Asia and had established military garrisons along the frontier, which changed its configuration from time to time. Proper administration of these strong points resulted in a heavy flow of official correspondence between them and the central government. Mr. Loewe's work is based upon the remains of some of this correspondence. It makes use of primary archaeological evidence selected from thousands of inscribed wooden slips discovered by Sven Hedin's Sino-Swedish Expedition of 1927–1935 in the Chü-yen region of present Ningsia Province.

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These two-thousand-year-old documents are exactly the type of material mentioned by the great German historian, Leopold von Ranke, as the only proper source material for historical writing (*Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514* [3d ed., 1885], XXXIII–XXXIV, vii).

The first volume of Loewe's study is intended for the general student of Chinese history, and it is a well-documented account of the slips themselves, the expansion of Chinese authority, organization of the Han military, and the life and work of the soldiers. Excellent indexes guide the reader to the many specific items treated and to the wealth of information contained here. This information was derived from the inscriptions on some seven hundred slips arranged into forty-three groups.

The second volume is more technical and will particularly interest the specialist in Chinese studies. Here Loewe sets forth the evidence upon which the narrative of the first volume is based. The inscriptions on the seven hundred slips are transcribed into modern Chinese, translated, and discussed in detail. Both volumes are models of scholarship and derive from a doctoral dissertation presented to the University of London in 1963 by Loewe, who is now lecturer in classical Chinese in the University of Cambridge.

Two similar major works on other Han inscribed slips were published by the French Sinologists Chavannes (1913) and Maspero (1953), and these aided Loewe in the interpretation of technical terms and other matters. Even more helpful was the comprehensive Chinese study by Professor Lao Kan (1944), which used many more of the same slips than were used here. Lao has published other works based on these same Chü-yen slips since that time, and all of Loewe's main topics can be found in them.

Loewe is not exactly plowing new ground in this work; rather, he retills fields already worked by Western, Chinese, and Japanese scholars. He has rendered an important service by producing the first major work on the subject in English and enriching it with his scholarship.

University of California, Los Angeles RICHARD C. RUDOLPH

FRIENDS, GUESTS, AND COLLEAGUES: THE MU-FU SYSTEM IN THE LATE CH'ING PERIOD. By *Kenneth E. Folsom*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 234. $5.50.)

LI Hung-chang's use of personally hired specialist-subordinates is here analyzed as an outgrowth of the ancient institution of "tent government" (*mu-fu*), by which provincial officials employed nonofficial private advisers or "tent friends" (*mu-yu*) to handle their legal, fiscal, or other special problems. Mr. Folsom first describes the main types of interpersonal relations, especially male friendship, in the Confucian society and bureaucracy, as opposed to the universalism of the Legalist state and monarchy. He traces the vicissitudes of the *mu-fu* from its first mention in the Han (*Shih-chi*) down to late Ch'ing, when exigencies of modernization required more use of specialists. Tseng Kuo-fan, in combating the Taipings, built up an able entourage. During his thirty-three years in power, from 1862 to 1895, Li Hung-chang carried on from there: his Anhwei army, its financing, and all his subsequent modernization projects relied on carefully selected

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and personally loyal subordinates. As they moved more and more into official posts, which was a new development, they expanded Li's outsize *mu-fu* into his regional-national "network of power." Men from Ho-fei, Li's district, were everywhere, but he also used Cantonese compradors, returned students, and foreign advisers.

This well-organized, well-researched monograph, with career data on some two hundred men, does indeed "penetrate the world of Chinese personal relationships," as the author set out to do. He is not afraid of repetition in his efforts to get illustrative details appropriately summarized under their topics. He brings out the importance of classmate (*t'ung-nien*) relationships, lays out the Li family genealogy with help from certain surviving members, and shows the ambition, imagination, broad scope, and vigorous initiative of Li Hung-chang's efforts "to save China." He sees Li looking at "nepotism and corruption in his organization, not as a reformer, but as a man who accepts things as they are and tries to work with them." The very institutions of personal loyalty by which Li built up his machine were integral to the old order of tax farming and the customary squeeze (*lou-kuei*). Li and his team could not rise above the traditional culture that had produced them, but, unlike the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's evil favorite Ho-shen and other parasitic monsters of the court, they tried.

Folsom does not attempt to penetrate Li's finances. His genetic approach perhaps sees too much continuity in the conflict between Confucianism and Legalism in the nineteenth century, but it is a stimulating and salutary alternative to the usual analysis of Li Hung-chang's achievements in the retrospective terms of "modernization."

Harvard University JOHN K. FAIRBANK

THE TAIPING IDEOLOGY: ITS SOURCES, INTERPRETATIONS, AND INFLUENCES. By *Vincent Y. C. Shih*. [Far Eastern and Russian Institute, Publications on Asia, Number 15.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1967. Pp. xix, 553. $10.00.)

WITH the possible exception of P'eng Tse-i's book on *The Revolutionary Thoughts of the Heavenly Kingdom of Universal Peace* (*T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo ko-ming ssu-ch'ao* [1946]), this monograph constitutes the only major work devoted to the ideological aspect of the great movement that ravaged two-thirds of the Ch'ing Empire in China during 1850–1864. It is chiefly divided into three parts: "Exposition of the Taiping Ideology"; "Sources and Interpretations of the Taiping Ideology"; and "Interpretations of the *T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo*." As this study was essentially completed in 1954, the author has not been able to use source materials recently published in China and elsewhere.

He contends that Chinese "rebel ideologies tend to have a tradition of their own, a tradition which on closer scrutiny turns out to be part and parcel of the main current of the orthodox ideology." He further maintains that "The Taiping ideology contains some revolutionary elements, but as a whole it falls within the main currents of China's tradition." Although these views must yet be debated among historians, the author has painstakingly ferreted out all the possible sources from which the Taiping ideas may have been derived, especially in

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Chapters VIII through XI, which pertain to traditional Chinese sources. His evidence appears to verify the continuity of the intellectual traditions of modern China, notwithstanding its inglorious military defeat at the hands of the Western Powers during the middle of the nineteenth century.

Shih, on the other hand, sees that Taiping leaders used Christian ideas in trying to break and eventually replace the traditional outlook. Yet the ineradicable effects of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, which permeated Chinese society, made it impossible for the Taiping to understand the true significance and meaning of Christianity. He concludes that the Taiping leaders were not particularly successful in applying their theoretical schemes, owing at least in part to a lack of determination to carry them out, and that their lack of determination to execute their ideological schemes can be construed as one of the important factors responsible for the final collapse of the movement.

There are very few errors in this scholarly appraisal of the ideological outlook of the Taiping movement. Through it we gain a vantage point for viewing China in an age no less turbulent than the present.

San Francisco State College J. CHESTER CHENG

FEUDAL CONTROL IN TOKUGAWA JAPAN: THE SANKIN KŌTAI SYSTEM. By *Toshio G. Tsukahira.* [Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 20.] (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1966. Pp. xii, 228. $3.50.)

THIS Ph.D. dissertation, completed in 1951 during the early postwar boom in Japanese studies at Harvard, has long remained unpublished; it has, however, been known to specialists in the field for some time, and its appearance now as a "Harvard East Asian Monograph" is an occasion for gratitude. It offers as well an opportunity to reflect upon how far the field of Tokugawa studies has developed, both in and out of Japan, in the last fifteen years.

Tsukahira has prepared a carefully documented survey of one of the basic institutions of the Tokugawa regime: the alternate attendance system, which required daimyo to spend half their time and much of their income in the shogun's city of Edo. His information is drawn from a wide range of Japanese secondary works and from some primary sources, chiefly contemporary critiques of the system by Confucian advisers to the government. He also makes interesting use of the observations of foreign travelers who saw the system, or at least its public pageantry, in action.

As a product of its time, there is little to quarrel with in the execution of this monograph. The scholarship is sound, though inevitably limited by the Japanese works available to the author. Chapters deal with the origins of the system, its operation, its economic consequences, and its demise. An appendix contains a still useful table of daimyo (as of 1853) giving information on the size of their holdings, their official status, and their attendance schedule.

While description rather than analysis is Tsukahira's main purpose, two features of the study stand out as contributions. First, the study makes quite clear that *sankin-kōtai,* like many Tokugawa institutions, had precedents and

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evolved from practices current at the end of the Sengoku period. Tsukahira's second main contribution is his chapter on contemporary criticism of the system. That men like Ogyū Sorai and Nakai Chikuzan could have had fundamental doubts about the system, and that the shogun Yoshimune could have ordered a temporary modification of the system, reveals more institutional flexibility than is generally thought to have existed in Tokugawa times.

Viewed in retrospect, this study bears the marks of age. Tsukahira's sources come chiefly from the 1930's or even earlier, so that his study is heavily influenced by the legalist interpretations of Miura Shūkō and the older generation of economic historians such as Kōda and Tsuchiya. Tsukahira's study lacks functional explanations that might have come from a broader familiarity with the *baku-han* system or by a utilization of daimyo documents. Nor does it assess on its own terms the role of *sankin-kōtai* within Tokugawa life as a whole. As a control mechanism its role was obvious, but as a way of life it had a deep significance only hinted at by Tsukahira. To what extent did *sankin-kōtai* serve both to diffuse and centralize Tokugawa political and cultural life? Did it indeed give Japan "the tremendous intellectual unity with which it faced the West in the nineteenth century," as Tsukahira suggests? If so, how does this relate to its economic effects, which are described as being mainly wasteful, thus undermining the ability of shogun and daimyo to meet the Western threat? To claim, as Tsukahira does, that the system "may well be considered the key to understanding the economic history of the Tokugawa period" and yet to put the whole weight of interpretation on the drain it placed on daimyo finances fails to view the system in economic terms. *Sankin-kōtai* fed the roots of economic growth as surely as it debilitated certain daimyo. Like the political institutions of the Tokugawa *bakufu*, the system may have been too cumbersome for its purpose, but it carried behind its legal façade some of the main avenues through which Tokugawa Japan achieved its cultural and economic growth.

Yale University JOHN W. HALL

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN EARLY MEIJI JAPAN, 1868–1889. By *Joseph Pittau, S.J.* [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 24.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. vi, 250. $6.95.)

THE political thought of Meiji Japan was distinguished by the clash between liberalism and democratic ideas derived from British, French, and American thinkers and the conservatism and state centralist philosophy rooted in native doctrines of imperial sovereignty buttressed by German constitutional theories. This conflict is vividly illustrated in the vigorous disagreements preceding the framing of the Meiji Constitution in 1889. Father Pittau has written an incisive account of these contending currents of thought and the political philosophy that was finally embodied in the Constitution. His account builds on previous studies by Nobutaka Ike, Robert Scalapino, and George Beckmann and incorporates the latest Japanese scholarship, especially the painstaking research of Inada Masatsugu. To these he adds his own balanced interpretation. Through an examination of political party petitions, newspaper editorials, government proclamations, and a string of draft constitutions, he carefully analyzes the varying positions taken by

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those concerned with the formulation of the principles that should guide the nation's political system. He concludes that the final document produced "a hybrid 'absolute constitutional monarchy'" that blended authoritarianism and constitutionalism.

Pittau would like to destroy the notion that the Meiji leaders intended to develop an absolute state and that the *kokutai* doctrine which came to dominate the intellectual life of the nation in the 1930's was an inevitable consequence of the philosophy undergirding the Constitution of 1889. More convincingly than previous authors, he shows how the prime movers of the Constitution opposed the extreme conservative view calling for uninhibited sovereign powers almost as vigorously as they rejected arguments favoring a parliament that would place the balance of power in the hands of an elected legislature.

In the course of his discussion the author makes a major contribution in clarifying the sources of the underlying ideas of the Constitution and the relative importance of those ultimately responsible for framing it. Of special value is his analysis of the German influence in the writing of the Constitution. He presents a valuable analysis of the political theories of Lorenz von Stein and Rudolf von Gneist, whose influence on the Meiji Constitution, he feels, has been overstressed, and the part played in the writing of the Constitution by Hermann Roessler, which he shows convincingly to have been decisive. His second major addition to the study of the Constitution is his detailed analysis of the key role of Inoue Kowashi whose ideas, closely associated with Roessler's theories, "constituted the fundamental guidelines in the framing of the constitution." Other narratives of the making of the Meiji Constitution have shown more clearly how the conflicting views regarding a constitution were tied to the political struggles of the times. But, with his disciplined focus on the central question of what the writers of the Constitution intended to accomplish and his excellent use of contemporary documentation, Pittau has written the best account available of the political thought underlying the Constitution of 1889 and the political system of the Meiji era.

University of Michigan ROGER F. HACKETT

THE D'ANETHAN DISPATCHES FROM JAPAN, 1894–1910: THE OBSERVATIONS OF BARON ALBERT D'ANETHAN, BELGIAN MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY AND DEAN OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS. Selected, translated, and edited, with a historical introduction, by *George Alexander Lensen*. (Tokyo: Sophia University, in cooperation with the Diplomatic Press, Tallahassee, Fla. 1967. Pp. 272. $15.00.)

THE purpose of the translated materials composing this book can be best stated by the editor himself: "Cumbersome as my translation may appear at times, it is, if anything, more lucid than the original." Never having examined any of the diplomatic messages of Baron Albert d'Anethan, Belgian minister plenipotentiary to Japan from 1894 to 1910, I will have to accept Professor Lensen's appraisal of his own abilities and shortcomings in this regard. In order to clarify further how he handled the dispatches of D'Anethan, Lensen adds that he has "disentangled long and involved 'trailer' passages" and has "broken them up into coherent sentences, making every effort, of course, to leave the meaning intact." By this process

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the editor believes he has "put the material into historical context," thereby giving to D'Anethan's observations "continuity, if not narrative force." Lensen concludes that the significance of the dispatches selected for inclusion in his work "lay in a chronological context."

The work is just that, a chronicle. The book is organized into six parts: a brief historical introduction and five chapters of Baron d'Anethan's dispatches arranged chronologically under the headings "The Sino-Japanese War," "Korea between Russia and Japan," "Manchuria," "The Russo-Japanese War," and "Shifting Sands." For the most part, Lensen allows D'Anethan's dispatches to speak for themselves, almost entirely without critical interpretation. Much of the material does little more than retell a familiar story of a well-known era in Japanese history. Lensen does not overlook this fact; he points out that the period is well covered by English and American sources, but he believes that the historian of this period will find it profitable and "important to refer to more or less neutral sources for information and appraisal." Such a source, says Lensen, "completely unexplored by historians until now, is the collection of unpublished diplomatic dispatches of Baron Albert d'Anethan. . . ." The content of his dispatches is largely factual; at times they are highly opinionated and often biased; they present much local color, official Japanese positions that gained the attention of D'Anethan, and public reaction to some of the great national issues involving Japanese relationships with China and Russia. Commenting on D'Anethan as an observer, Lensen points out that he was "well informed . . . often trenchant and usually right. Obvious as some of his observations may appear in retrospect, they were perspicacious at the time."

Students of the history of East Asia should find this little volume useful even though it tends mainly to confirm much information already known about the period. It gives ready access in English to materials not easily available in their original language and form. Whether D'Anethan is as perspicacious as Lensen believes must be left for the historian of this period to judge. Those who have spent any time in diplomatic service and have been forced to read and decipher official dispatches, often vague and badly written, will find that those of D'Anethan seldom left his home government in doubt as to his meaning and intent.

Bangkok, Thailand PAUL E. ECKEL

HARA KEI IN THE POLITICS OF COMPROMISE, 1905–1915. By *Tetsuo Najita.* [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 31.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 314. $7.50.)

IN the Constitution of 1889, Japanese political leaders resorted to a compromise arrangement and adopted a form of government that tried to combine some British parliamentary features with traditional values. Given their conservative values, these leaders detested political parties, which they viewed as divisive organizations inimical to the national interest. Despite the hostility shown them by the leaders, political parties were established, and these parties, operating in an institutional environment where the rules of the game worked against them much of the time, tried their best to enlarge their sphere of influence. Their ultimate goal was the establishment of the principle that the party holding the majority of

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votes in the House of Representatives should be allowed to form the government.

Professor Najita's book delves deeply into the ten-year period between 1905 and 1915 when the Seiyukai (Society of Political Friends) became the dominant party in the lower house and attempted through a series of maneuvers to supplant the political oligarchy that had come to power in the Meiji period. The author views this period of political and party history largely through the eyes of Hara Kei, a prominent party leader who later became Prime Minister. Hara emerges from these pages as a tough-minded political realist with considerable organizational skills and ability in political infighting. He was, moreover, a pragmatist who was willing to compromise from time to time. As the author himself admits, however, "Hara was not creative; he was not a political leader with great vision." Perhaps this was the difficulty; what the party needed was a statesman with charismatic qualities.

Since the author focuses on the leadership levels of the Seiyukai, he does not treat in detail the party's local organization. His chapter on the local power base describes briefly how the expansion of the electorate made the local basis of power more unstable and how the Seiyukai built a local following by using the pork barrel and by controlling the prefectural bureaucracy. The description suggests that the Seiyukai was a formidable organization.

This leads to an intriguing question: why were political parties unable to establish the principle of party-controlled governments? It may be, as the author suggests, that party leaders were willing to compromise and were more interested in "infiltrating, usurping, and broadening the avenues of access into the bases of the ruling cliques." Probably such questions can best be answered by using broadly based comparative studies of party development in many countries. Anyone writing such a comparative study in the future will need to read Najita's carefully researched and judicious account of Hara and the Seiyukai.

Stanford University NOBUTAKA IKE

THE KOREAN MINORITY IN JAPAN. By *Richard H. Mitchell.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. 186. $5.75.)

AGAINST the overshadowing concern that historians have manifested in studying China and Japan, scholarly interest in Korea has been latent. This slim volume contributes toward redressing the imbalance in East Asian historiography. Its main thrust follows the twin themes that the presence of the Korean minority in Japan played a crucial role in framing political relations between the two countries and that this vitally influenced the unfolding of nationalistic and Left-wing political movements in Korea as well as in Japan itself.

The broad historical perspective of the Korean-Japanese dialogue is, however, merely prologue to the author's narrative of conditions and consequences of Korean immigration to Japan after 1910: their ineluctable integration into its industrial labor force; the politicization of their frustrated search for national independence and for a viable social niche in Japan; and Japan's ambivalent approach to the question of "forced assimilation" at home and in Korea. The

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study cogently demonstrates that Japan's return to jingoism set a tone of rancor and contempt that has marked its Korean problem ever since.

Two distinct elements comprised the Korean minority historically: a small, vociferously militant body of student-intellectuals and a preponderant mass of unskilled proletarian laborers. In the early postannexation years, Japan's unilateral "cultural policy" in Korea produced a rash of sharp protests by Korean students in Japan. Many landless Koreans elected to emigrate to Japan after 1920. Mitchell spotlights the consequences of the "double infusion of labor," whereby newly urbanized Japanese workers found themselves at a competitive disadvantage with cheap Korean labor, which further exacerbated the pejorative image of Koreans. This influx of Korean labor also changed the pattern of minority dissent. Militant student nationalism was gradually sublimated into empathy with the rising anticapitalist and antigovernment labor struggle during the 1920's and 1930's. The author sees this marriage of convenience between Korean and native Left-wing groups resulting in the Korean group being catapulted by default into leadership of the entire Japanese Communist movement as police pressure decimated the ranks of the native group. Certainly one of the most arresting conclusions of the book is that the wellspring of the Korean Communist apparatus lay in the Koreanization of Communist leadership in Japan rather than in Korea or elsewhere.

Postwar Korean-Japanese relations have been deeply embarrassed by the failure of Korean independence. The presence of rival regimes on the peninsula, each striving to be the recognized protector of the entire minority, have kept alive the closely allied issues of repatriation and the legal status of the 600,000 Koreans who would neither accept Japanization nor risk beginning anew in Korea. Japan's relations with the Koreans and its domestic minority factions have been consistently colored by tension between North and South Korea for influence within the minority.

Despite signs that descendants of immigrants are accepting Japanization, the prolonged ferment has left basic problems of assimilation unsettled. Japan must bear much of the blame for this failure, for endemic contradictions between public assimilation policy and perduring discriminatory attitudes, and for a timid approach to stamping out the unflattering "racial" stereotype. The "conservative structure" of Japanese society, its monolithic ethnocentrism, has denied the Korean a viable niche in the Japanese matrix except on wholly Japanese terms. What Mitchell seems to be predicting in his last chapters is not a state of assimilation but strategies whereby the minority can achieve a workable accommodation only by abandoning the most offensive manifestations of loyalty to a foreign government.

This is easily the fullest treatment of the subject available in a rather sparse field. It makes extensive use, for the first time, of Japanese government archives. While the plane of discourse is frankly political history, I cannot resist remarking that the more significant dimensions of the problem relate to sociocultural dynamics. In this sense, it merely scratches the surface.

University of Texas JOHN B. CORNELL

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SOCIALIST PARTIES IN POSTWAR JAPAN. By *Allan B. Cole et al.* [Studies on Japan's Social Democratic Parties, Volume II.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1966. Pp. xvi, 490. $12.50.)

In the post-World War II era the Socialist parties have functioned as the principal source of organized political opposition in Japan. Only these political parties have succeeded in rallying, as die-hard supporters of socialism or as irreconcilable critics of prevailing regimes, a sufficient number of voters to contest the commanding domination of the nation's political apparatus held by diverse conservative coalitions. An understanding of the hopes and frustrations, mostly frustrations, of this large and apparently permanent minority is manifestly necessary for any meaningful insight into the Japanese political process and patterns of political behavior. To provide this perception is the objective of "Studies on Japan's Social Democratic Parties." The first volume in the series is Cecil Uyehara's *Leftwing Social Movements in Japan: An Annotated Bibliography* (1959); George Totten's *The Social Democratic Movement in Prewar Japan* (1966) is the third.

Uyehara, Cole, and Totten have provided a guide for all subsequent studies of postwar Japanese socialism during the period 1945–1961. Their concern, admirably fulfilled, has been to reduce to intelligible proportions the complex and unwieldy history of Japanese socialism which, in many ways, reached a crossroads with the assassination of Asanuma Inejiro. They have organized their data under four headings: "Postwar Party History"; "Theories, Tactics, and Policies"; "Organization and Leadership"; and "Electoral and Organized Support." Each topic has been refined, and orderly analysis has brought into sharp relief the main outlines of a distinct stage in the history of Japanese socialism.

It is easy to complain that the authors have attempted to compress into a single volume more than it can comfortably bear; each of the main topics is sufficiently complex to warrant extended treatment. Again, it may be argued that the technique of analysis has resulted in postwar socialism being given a much tidier character than it ever possessed. These are the kind of reservations that historians generally have about the techniques of political science. They do not deter us, however, from the conclusion that this important work on a phase of postwar Japanese history is a pathfinding study in the best sense of the term.

City University of New York Hyman Kublin

KOREA AND THE POLITICS OF IMPERIALISM, 1876–1910. By *C. I. Eugene Kim* and *Han-Kyo Kim.* [Publications of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. x, 260. $7.00.)

This study had its inception a decade ago in two separate dissertations: H.-K. Kim's "The Demise of the Korean Kingdom, 1882–1910," and C. I. E. Kim's on "Japan in Korea (1905–1910): The Techniques of Political Power." Along the way it was fertilized by my study of *The Japanese Seizure of Korea, 1868–1910* (1960) and the considerable storm of scholarly controversy following that allegedly "revisionist" work (*Journal of Asian Studies,* XXII [Aug. 1963], 469–72).

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The Kims have combined their dissertations, greatly honed, added new research and new thinking, sharpened the focus and the style, and produced a small, well-balanced, thoroughly informative volume on the victimization of Korea in the politics of imperialism, not excluding Korea's own responsibility therein. Utilizing Japanese-, Chinese-, and Korean-, as well as English-language materials, they not only tell a balanced story, but, considering the small size of the volume, they also present a considerable amount of new information as well. For example, in the Li-Shufeldt negotiations for the American treaty of 1882 they bring out the hitherto neglected importance of Kim Yun-sik in the negotiations. Later they show that this same Kim Yun-sik, as head of the Korean Foreign Office, was the key to the power and influence of Li's "resident," Yuan Shih-k'ai, in Korea; Yuan's role is shown to be less an Oriental mystery than it has seemed previously.

On such matters as the attempted *coup* of December 1884, the Tientsin negotiations of 1885, the "peddlers'" assault on the Independence Club (1898), Ito's "persuasion" of the Korean ministers (1905), and the Korean Righteous Army (1907–1910), new information is introduced. The story of the English newspaperman Bethell, which C. I. E. Kim first presented in the *Pacific Historical Review* (XXI [Nov. 1962], 393–402), is woven into the larger framework.

Points not well explained are few, but, to do my duty, I have searched out one or two. The 1882 abduction of the Taewongun is explained in "must have been" terms, but D. J. Yim in his recent paper on that subject shows that the full explanation is available in Chinese documents ("Papers on China from Seminars at Harvard University," XXI [Feb. 1968]). Regarding the Japanese dispatch of troops to Korea in 1894, the authors employ the term "mixed brigade." "Combined brigade" would be a more meaningful rendition of the Japanese term.

The conclusions of the study are measured and modest. Some might criticize the authors for failing to delve into the long-range and world-wide implications of the subjection of Korea. But it may be more important for Korean scholars, who are especially sensitive to the immediate aspects of the tragedy, to assess objectively the roles of foreign aggressors, meddlers, and "friends" (whether fair or foul weather) and Korea's own failures to make desperately needed internal reforms when opportunity knocked in the 1880's and again in the 1898–1904 period. The authors have accomplished these assessments very well indeed.

University of Pennsylvania HILARY CONROY

AKBAR THE GREAT. Volume II, EVOLUTION OF ADMINISTRATION, 1556–1605 A.D. By *Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava.* (Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwala and Company. 1967. Pp. xx, 373. Rs. 20.)

THIS is the second of Professor A. L. Srivastava's projected three-volume study of the life and times of Akbar, the Great Mogul (1556–1605). While Akbar was a great and dedicated warrior, he was also an enthusiastic and capable administrator. When he took over the reins of power in 1560, the administrative system was in a state of disrepair. The Afghan Sher Shah Sur (1540–1545) had laid the foundations of a sound revenue system, but that had also largely deteriorated under his successors (1545–1555). It redounds to the credit of the Great Mogul

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that he was able to transform what was at best a wreckage into a vigorous, efficient administrative system. The Emperor's intellectual ability and practical sense soon led to remarkable developments in the organization of the army and public finance. The revenue *bandobast* of Muzaffar Khan and Raja Todar Mall soon acquired such renown as to become the ideal for subsequent centuries.

The present volume very ably traces the historical development of Akbar's administration in all its varied nature and functions. The chapters on the ministers, provincial, district, and local administrations, the financial and military systems, law and justice, and relations with subordinate states bring together much interesting material scattered in the *Ain-i-Akbari,* the chronicles, and a host of modern works. Students of Mogul India will find the work a useful compendium.

But the work introduces little that is new since it asks few of the right questions. The numerous pages on revenue and expenditure, for instance, contain little to indicate the nature and consequences of the impact of imperial policies on the life of the people. The long discussion on the *Mansabdari* system fails to explain its origin satisfactorily; nor does it reveal the circumstances under which a primarily military rank became so deeply involved in revenue affairs. The author makes the interesting point that the *Sawar* distinction in *Mansabs* was introduced sometime in 1594–1595, but the explanation of the innovation he offers is still not completely adequate. The use of modern concepts and terms such as Prime Minister, council, budget, central control of provincial administration is confusing, if not misleading. Finally, the attempt to link Akbar's administrative ideas and practices with their Hindu and Islamic prototypes is far from successful or happy. The bibliography could have been much more critical and comprehensive, and the index is barely useful.

Wake Forest University B. G. Gokhale

THE MODERNITY OF TRADITION: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA. By *Lloyd I. Rudolph* and *Susanne Hoeber Rudolph*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1967. Pp. x, 306. $8.75.)

This study might also have been titled "The Traditionality of Modernity." It challenges the common assumption that there exists in India a political, social, and legal tradition alienated from a modern system that has developed in opposition to it. The analysis breaks new ground in current efforts to understand the modernization process and, in so doing, considers three factors: caste, charismatic leadership, and legal cultures.

Fresh viewpoints emerge throughout. One, long overdue, is that caste stratifications, far from being a reactionary drag upon democratic development, which is a popular theme of Western-oriented critics, have actually made democracy possible. "By providing a structure for the pursuit of political power, social status, and economic interest, the paracommunity based on caste sentiment and interest makes secular concerns and representative democracy comprehensible and manageable to ordinary Indians." The authors demonstrate the complex role of castes by detailed reference to practices throughout India. Although there are exceptions, they see a situation where castes function as the multiple interest

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groups that James Madison considered essential in preserving democratic liberties against the tyranny of any single element in the power structure.

The section on charisma, employing psychoanalytic approaches to probe Gandhi's character and activities, is a most readable and thought-provoking interpretation of Gandhiism. While the intimate details may prove disturbing to those who have idealized Gandhi, historical realism demands the full picture. The authors seem to be aware of the dangers involved in attempting to delve into motives and events of which they could not have firsthand knowledge, and they weigh and carefully qualify their conclusions. Some will feel, however, that the essential realities of the Mahatma's character and appeal elude all attempts to reveal them by such means.

Perhaps the most important phase of the work for those concerned with the establishment and development of a centralized political system is that concerning legal cultures. The authors' argument hinges on the proposition that traditional Brahmanic law, which Sir William Jones and John Mayne assumed to be basic, was actually far less prevalent than the infinitely varied systems of customary law used throughout India. By adopting and Anglicizing the general principles of the dharmashastra, the British laid the groundwork for a national law code at the expense of prevailing legal norms. By continuing this trend, modern India has utilized legal tradition to further the processes of modernization.

The study, as a whole, is carefully researched and well documented.

Prescott College D. Mackenzie Brown

THE SWATANTRA PARTY AND INDIAN CONSERVATISM. By *Howard L. Erdman*. [Cambridge South Asian Studies.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 356. $11.00.)

With the emergence of the Swatantra party in 1959, India for the first time had a conservative, noncommunal alternative to the Congress party. In the two general elections held since 1959, Swatantra has doubled its membership in the Lok Sabha (from twenty-two to forty-four, making it the second largest party) and has increased its representation in the state assemblies by more than 50 per cent. It has been a kind of umbrella party, following a policy of mergers, electoral adjustments, and cautious cooperation with other opposition groups and parties. It is "a technologically progressive, secular and constitutionalist party," working well within the democratic framework.

But the success of Swatantra, while qualitatively impressive, has been quite limited, and its prospects are uncertain. Its associations with aristocrats, business interests, and upper-caste groups, and its strong emphasis on antistatism in a country where the rhetoric of socialism is widely used have given it a negative image that it has not been able successfully to counteract. It has strength only in a few states—mainly Gujarat, Orissa, and Rajasthan—and only among certain groups. "There is within the party leadership a strong strain of anti-democratic élitism (aristocratic, administrative and professional) and frequent criticism of universal suffrage. . . . Its official doctrine and many unofficial views still seem relatively remote from popular interests and passions." It is "in some ways an

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enigma, one important aspect of which is the diversity of social forces within Swatantra and the balance of power among them."

These aspects, and many others, are analyzed in Erdman's excellent study, which considers the Swatantra party "against the backdrop of *rightist* politics more generally." There are illuminating discussions of the party's inner circle—especially C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji), M. R. Masani, and K. M. Munshi—of the varied groups and individuals that make up "the Swatantra coalition," of the balance of power within the party, of Swatantra doctrine, and of electoral adjustments with such parties as the DMK in Madras, the Akali Dal in the Punjab, and, above all, the Jana Sangh.

Unfortunately this book was written prior to the fourth general elections in February 1967. While Erdman adds a brief but useful appendix on the elections, he could not revise his manuscript to take account of the many significant changes that the election results stimulated or forecast. The needed revisions, however, are largely matters of detail and of emphasis, rather than of basic interpretation.

As Erdman points out, "Swatantra deserves close study by students of the political process," whether they happen to be particularly interested in India or not. His book was obviously written with this broader purpose in mind. It incorporates the results of solid research in India, including extensive interviews and returns from questionnaires.

One surprising omission must be noted: in seventy-four pages of notes and bibliography Erdman does not even mention the most important single book on the Rightist parties of India, namely Motilal A. Jhangiani, *Jana Sangh and Swatantra: A Profile of the Rightist Parties in India* (1967). This perhaps Freudian slip accounts for the absurd observation in the preface that "nothing of any consequence has been written about the Swatantra Party."

University of Pennsylvania NORMAN D. PALMER

AFGHANISTAN, 1900–1923: A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY. By *Ludwig W. Adamec*. [Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1967. Pp. vi, 245. $7.00.)

AFGHANISTAN is, of course, one of the "nonaligned" states, desiring to be let alone, to live at peace with all other countries, especially its neighbors, and refusing to adhere to power blocs or to participate in their ideological or other disputes.

As Dr. Adamec well demonstrates in this volume, there is nothing new in the Afghan policy; "neutralism" and "isolationism" have been essential over the years, and necessarily so if the independence of the country were to be maintained. This study covers the history of Afghan foreign relations from the turn of the twentieth century to about 1923, or during the reigns of the Amirs Abdur Rahman, Habibullah, and Amanullah. In it, the author traces in some detail the development of Anglo-Afghan and Russo-Afghan relations, the Dane Mission, the impact of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, and the neutral position of Afghanistan during World War I, despite Turko-German intrigues in

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the country, and he brings the story down through the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921.

The main emphasis of the story deals with the Afghan attempt to maintain an autonomous or independent identity, even in a period before the element of nationalism can be said to have exercised much influence in Afghan society. There can be no doubt, as the author well notes, that the situation in Afghanistan became critical in the later nineteenth century, as the British and Russian Empires advanced in Central Asia, separated only by Afghanistan. A number of factors contributed to Afghanistan's success in remaining independent and avoiding partition, chief of which, perhaps, was the skillful conduct of foreign relations by the Afghan rulers, who premised their policy on the principle that both Great Britain and Imperial Russia were basically hostile to Afghanistan and bent on territorial annexation. The policy of Abdur Rahman called for militant independence, strict isolationism, and a middle course between Great Britain, to which Afghanistan was cautiously allied, and Russia, neither of which was to be unnecessarily or unduly provoked. But other factors contributed to the success of Afghanistan in remaining independent and avoiding partition: the geographical position of Afghanistan, the warlike character of the Afghans, and Anglo-Russian rivalry.

Adamec's work is based on much archival material from India, Germany, and the United Kingdom, and it focuses on trends in Afghan policy that have prevailed throughout the period covered. There are a well-selected bibliography for those who care to pursue their study in this field and an appendix of interesting documents. This is a perceptive work; it provides solid background to present-day Afghan policy.

American University HARRY N. HOWARD

A SPANIARD IN THE PORTUGUESE INDIES: THE NARRATIVE OF MARTÍN FERNÁNDEZ DE FIGUEROA. By *James B. McKenna.* [Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, published under the direction of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, Volume XXXI.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 288. $9.95.)

"To see the world in a grain of sand," as William Blake wrote, is a virtue given to poetry, but seldom to historical works. This one is an exception. For Professor McKenna has chosen to scrutinize the sole exemplar known to exist of a microcosmic pamphlet of only sixty-two printed pages that covers but five years in the history of Portuguese Asia. Before he is through with it, he has photographed it, measured, translated, charted, indexed, and annotated it until one can scarcely imagine what more might be done to make it reveal its secrets.

But the reader is the gainer, and experts especially will find it interesting and will appreciate McKenna's scholarly treatment, which almost amounts to pampering. The story Martín Fernández de Figueroa tells is extraordinarily interesting. In the first place, though hitherto all but unknown, it is the first known printed account (1512) of the mighty conquests in Persia, Africa, and India by Portugal's conquistadors, Francisco de Almeida and Afonso de Albuquerque. Even more important, the Spaniard has recounted at firsthand parts of the story from a

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proximity that none of the four classic chroniclers (Barros, Correa, Castanheda, and Damião de Góis) enjoyed. For example, the four chroniclers did not know so much about the conquest of Sofala and the founding of a Portuguese station there, or of Portuguese exploits in the Persian Gulf. And there is some new, if less significant, detail on other famous events. Apparently they had not heard of Figueroa's pamphlet when they compiled their own works years afterward, and, as McKenna says, it is no small thing that Figueroa acts as an independent means of checking on their accuracy, which, as it develops, was astonishingly good. This is also true of the apparatus that McKenna provides for the reader who might wish to verify them. In his appendix he furnishes four pages of tables, showing where the coverage of each of Figueroa's forty-nine sections, or short chapters, can be approximated in the more voluminous books of the four Portuguese writers.

McKenna's painstaking scholarship can be put to another use, though one that perhaps the author did not have in mind: it makes an ideal introductory tool for scholars just beginning the study of Portuguese expansion. Because Figueroa mentions and McKenna identifies so many of the people, things, and places that figure in the four classic accounts, *A Spaniard in the Portuguese Indies* is ideal as preparation for their reading. His "Commentary" section will save innumerable trips to dozens of reference works for thumbing out the who, what, when, why, and where. The lonely stretches of beach rimming Portuguese overseas history could use many more such grains of sand.

University of Florida GEORGE D. WINIUS

THE MODERN HISTORY OF CEYLON. By *E. F. C. Ludowyk*. [The Praeger Asia-Africa Series.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1966. Pp. ix, 308. $7.50.)

CEYLON. By *S. A. Pakeman*. [Nations of the Modern World.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1964. Pp. 256. $6.95.)

ONE damned governor after another was my first reaction to both of these books, and, although on a second reading I am more kindly disposed toward them, there can be no question that they are "poop-deck" histories of the sort that J. C. van Leur inveighed against. Well, you may ask, what is wrong with the study of imperialism? Nothing, if the author states this as his subject, but the history of Ceylon and the history of British colonial administration are not one and the same. Had these volumes been entitled "The British in Ceylon and Their Legacy," I would have had less quarrel with the authors.

Within these limits, Ludowyk's is the more substantial contribution. He has made thorough use of the English-language secondary literature, including recent London University dissertations on Ceylon, and, for the nineteenth century, he supplements this with primary material from Colonial Office records. Besides a full, if rather routine, outline of British administrative practice, he gives a useful account of land policy and the regulation of plantation industries. For the twentieth century the work contains all of the constitutional details that one has come to expect in histories of British imperial possessions, and it is accompanied by a fairly lively narrative of politics. Ludowyk provides many shrewd insights into the

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manipulations of the Colombo elite, but his vantage points—Government House, the legislature, University College, and the clubs—are not well equipped to prepare him or his readers for the transformation of Ceylonese politics in 1956. For a better understanding of that sudden shift, he should have given careful attention to the persistence of Singhalese cultural traditions and the Buddhist revival, subjects for which the governors and their protégés leave little space.

Both authors witnessed and at times participated in the more recent events they describe, for both held university professorships in Colombo. Pakeman draws on this firsthand experience to give excellent biographical sketches of many of the leading public figures of the last thirty to forty years, and he devotes more than a third of his book to the years since independence when he was personally involved in politics. The earlier sections of his book are undistinguished except, perhaps, his discussion of education, in which he obviously took a special interest. He dispenses with the scholarly paraphernalia of references, and his bibliography and index are too brief to be of much value. Ludowyk, on the other hand, provides an excellent bibliography, and his book is enhanced by sixteen pages of photographs.

Neither of these works is a match for S. Arasaratnam's stimulating short paperback *Ceylon* in the Prentice-Hall "Modern Nations in Historical Perspective" series.

University of Michigan J. H. Broomfield

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE WHITE AUSTRALIA POLICY. By *A. C. Palfreeman.* ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 184. $12.00.)

This is an excellent study of how a restrictive immigration policy for non-Europeans, commonly known as the White Australia policy, has been administered from 1901 to 1966. By studying the intrinsic nature of the policy itself, the author has shown that Australia is in fact whiter now than when the Immigration Restrictive Act became effective immediately following federation. Complete exclusion of non-Europeans ended, however, in 1956 when certain of these could be naturalized under particular conditions. In 1966 the Australian government, in order to destroy the objectionable image of discrimination, announced that some non-Europeans would be admitted as permanent settlers, eligible for naturalization after five years in the same way as European settlers.

The author shows that complete exclusion was never possible; thus numerous policy decisions were made to accommodate the consensus of national opinion that was to keep Australia white. Palfreeman shows the continual adjustment of the policy. His sources are drawn from the general provisions of the restrictive immigration policy coming from the Department of Immigration or stated in Parliament and from the study of case histories. The book falls into three parts: an analysis of the policy, an analysis of the statutes, and a small concluding section.

The Chinese have always been the main problem, and certain exceptions were made on their behalf. The Japanese, Indians, and Indonesians resented the stigma

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of exclusion. The author clearly explains the chief reason for the White Australia policy: the desire to exclude cheap competitive labor.

The final section "Whither White Australia?" is in many ways the most interesting. The author eschews polemics, but in the chapter "Pressures on Policy" he describes those for and against. Those who have challenged the policy are the Chinese community, the Roman Catholic Church, the Australian Council of the World Council of Churches, many academics, and the Australian Communist party. A quota system has been discussed since the war, but with few results.

The author writes clearly and concisely and has included numerous appendixes that are unusually helpful. The book has dealt at length with the administrative mechanism because "it is only by resorting to minutiae that an accurate description of the policy is possible" and because of "the central fact that the subjects and objects of this study are not rules, regulations, ministerial decisions and cabinet minutes, but people; people who are sometimes innocent, sometimes cunning; people who are often bewildered, angry or despairing."

University of California, Irvine SAMUEL CLYDE MCCULLOCH

Americas

THE NATIONAL UNION CATALOG OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS, 1966. INDEX 1963–1966. Compiled by the Library of Congress from reports provided by American repositories with assistance from the Council on Library Resources, Inc. [The Library of Congress Catalogs.] (Washington, D.C.: the Library. 1967. Pp. xxv, 920. $15.00.)

THE 1966 volume of *The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* continues the pattern set by its immediate predecessor: publishing one year's reports of manuscript collections along with an index cumulating back to 1963. Before 1963, the first two volumes came out at irregular intervals from different commercial houses because the project was funded initially by a grant from the Council on Library Resources. Beginning with the 1963–1964 volume, the Library of Congress' appropriated funds have supported compilation and publication of the work. Of course, the basic reports from which the Library makes the compilations come from repositories across the country, and they receive no financial assistance from the Library.

In the latest volume 177 repositories report 2,020 collections, which make a total of 616 institutions listing 18,417 collections in the five volumes published. Repositories participating most recently include some from Wyoming and Montana. Thus, every state in the country, plus the District of Columbia and the Canal Zone, is represented.

A major problem is that many important repositories have still made little effort to report their holdings prior to 1959, when the *Catalog* began. These institutions obviously find it easier to deal with current acquisitions than to tackle the backlog. They must understand, however, that their contribution to scholarly research partly depends on the extent to which they make their resources known. Scholars should make every effort to encourage the reporting of earlier acquisitions and holdings.

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The repository index of this fifth volume reflects a wholesome trend. Whereas the 1965 repository index contained only one page of institutions holding duplicate copies of manuscripts, the latest has almost two. While there probably was not a 75 per cent increase in the number of repositories with duplicates from 1965 to 1966, the reporting was apparently that much better. Even if this information is merely suggestive, it does highlight a salutary and significant trend in research scholarship—the willingness of institutions to share their resources through photoreproduction. Further reports of duplicate holdings will enhance the *Catalog* as a vehicle for apprising researchers of the most convenient locations where primary sources may be used.

University of Oklahoma WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS: EUROPEAN CONCEPTS, 1492–1729. By *Lee Eldridge Huddleston*. [Latin American Monographs, Number 11, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas.] (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute. 1967. Pp. viii, 179. $5.00.)

WHEN did the first Americans reach the New World? From whence did they come? From whom were they descended? And how did they get to America? Many writers, understandably most of them Spaniards, puzzled over answers to these questions between 1535 (when the first part of Oviedo y Valdéz' *Historia general y natural de las Indias* was published) and 1729 (when an expanded version of García's *Origen de los indios* by Andrés González de Barcia first appeared). All were convinced that the Indians did not originate independently in the New World but rather that they were also descendants of Adam. Beyond these points, there was little agreement. The roster of places posited as likely original hearths of the Indians is long and includes Atlantis, Carthage, pre-Roman Spain, Egypt, Ethiopia, Norway, China, Kurland, Tatary, Israel, and the land of Ophir.

Huddleston laboriously analyzes the views of both major and minor writers who expressed opinions concerning the Indians' origins in works published before 1730, and he concludes that their conjectures fall into two "rival, but not mutually exclusive, traditions." One he terms the Acostan, after José de Acosta, author of the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1590), who rejected the arguments of his predecessors in favor of transatlantic origins, brushed aside their crude attempts at comparative cultural analogies, and on the basis of geographical and faunal considerations concluded that the Indians probably came in the distant past over a land bridge or a narrow strait from some unknown tribe in Northeastern Asia. The other tradition Huddleston designates as the Garcían, after Gregorio García, whose *Origen de los indios de el nuevo mundo* (1607), the first work exclusively devoted to the problem of origins, he contends, has been seriously misunderstood by previous students. García examined the arguments in favor of and against every previously advanced theory of origins, rejected none, and concluded that all were equally plausible. For the remainder of the period covered by this monograph the Garcían tradition remained the popular one in Spain; elsewhere, particularly in Northern Europe, the Acostan prescientific view predominated.

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Although the subject was, and still is, an intriguing one, it was, as Huddleston admits, of casual rather than consequential interest to most contemporaries, few of whom engaged in polemics to support their opinions. (The curious literary debate between Hugo Grotius, a Garcían, and Jan de Laet, an Acostan, is a rare exception.) Readers will find this book interesting, though some will object to the author's anthropological notational system, others will lament his penchant for cataloguing titles and editions, and many, including myself, will consider his style clumsy and repetitious.

University of Washington DAURIL ALDEN

WHITE OVER BLACK: AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NEGRO, 1550–1812. By *Winthrop D. Jordan.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1968. Pp. xx, 651. $12.50.)

THIS is an impressive book. Working from the implicit premise that the race problem is basically a white man's problem, Winthrop Jordan has read virtually everything in print bearing upon the attitude of Englishmen and their American descendants toward the Negro from the reign of Elizabeth I to the War of 1812. From this mass of sources he has forged a major study that well merits the adjective "exhaustive." Indeed, the author's prodigious research is a cause of weakness as well as strength: in the second half of the volume, which covers only the years 1783–1812, Jordan has allowed the abundance of his materials to overpower him. Themes that were discussed crisply for the earlier period are taken up again and dealt with repetitively in a discursive, rambling style that unduly lengthens the book and exhausts the reader. Though the second half of this study is less original and trenchant than the first, the book as a whole is, nonetheless, an outstanding analysis of the origins of racism in the United States. And while he has written primarily an intellectual history of white attitudes toward the Negro, Jordan has also shown how these attitudes were translated into action. Thus, the book is an important contribution to the history of slavery, segregation, miscegenation, and other everyday manifestations of race relations in colonial America.

The word "black" has always been loaded with unfavorable connotations; it symbolized darkness, ugliness, filthiness, and evil, while "white" symbolized purity, beauty, cleanliness, and virtue. Their language prejudiced Englishmen against Negroes even before the arrival of that famous ship at Jamestown in 1619. Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were alternately fascinated and repelled by stories of the savage, heathen, and sexually uninhibited natives of Africa. Caucasians were preoccupied with the blackness of Negroes, and the amount of ink spilled in an effort to explain the causes of this blackness was a measure of the ethnocentrism that produced the doctrine of white supremacy. Europeans assumed that the original man was white and that black men were a deviation that must somehow be accounted for, whether by the curse of Canaan, the rays of the sun, or sexual intercourse with orangutans. To the insular Englishman or provincial American, Negroes were different, their color strange, their customs bizarre, their religion heathenish. From an ethnocentric viewpoint, any-

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thing different or strange is *ipso facto* inferior, and hence the assumption of Negro inferiority grew up from the first English contact with Africans. Coupled with the technological superiority of European society, this ethnocentric racism abetted and justified the enslavement of Africans. There was, in Jordan's words, "a mutual relationship between slavery and unfavorable assessment of Negroes. Rather than slavery causing 'prejudice,' or vice versa, they seem rather to have generated each other."

Jordan treats many themes in detail: the rise and decline of antislavery sentiment in the eighteenth century, the impact of the Revolution, Thomas Jefferson's complex and ambivalent attitude toward the Negro, early scientific treatises on racial differences, popular myths about race, and others. The chapter on Jefferson, a sharp critique of his racism, is perhaps the most controversial part of this study. The central theme of the book concerns the role that white sexual desires and fantasies played in race relations. There was probably more miscegenation in the eighteenth century than at any time since, accompanied by constant aspersions on the Negro's degraded sexual morals. In a brilliant psychological analysis, Jordan argues that the white man's professed abhorrence of Negro sexuality was essentially a projection of his own fears and desires. It was the whites who committed sexual aggression against the blacks (the symbolic meaning of the book's title), but by transferring the blame to the Negro's "libidinous nature" the aggressor made the black man bear the white man's burden of sexual guilt. Thus the taproot of racism in colonial America, and by implication in all of American history, was sex. This is the most important thesis in one of the most significant books on race relations to appear in recent years.

Princeton University JAMES M. MCPHERSON

THE CONSCIENCE OF THE STATE IN NORTH AMERICA. By *E. R. Norman*. [Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. 199. $6.50.)

DR. Norman is at pains to make it clear that his book is intended as neither a history of religion in the United States nor as an account of relations of church and state. "It is an interpretative introduction," he says, "to those relations, in the light of similar experience in Britain." The purpose has been fulfilled in this well-informed work, which shows a wide acquaintance with the literature on the subject, although William Kailer Dunn's work, *What Happened to Religious Education? The Decline of Religious Teaching in the Public Elementary School, 1776–1861* (1958), and Charles H. Metzger's *Catholics and the American Revolution. A Study in Religious Climate* (1962) would have served him well. Those acquainted with the author's volume, *The Catholic Church and Ireland in the Age of Rebellion, 1859–1873* (1965), will anticipate a high degree of competence, and they will not be disappointed.

Religious pluralism has been a phenomenon in Britain, the United States, and Canada, and it was the dissenting religious groups who rendered an established church anomalous. Yet, as Norman states, "it was not this pluralism *per se* which threatened the state churches, but the alliance of dissent with radical constitutionalism." That there should have been similarities between the three

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countries is understandable given their history, and there were few more marked similarities than their common anti-Catholicism throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a fact that the author makes evident. But in spite of the secularist thought that has more recently dominated political policy and action in all three countries, there has been relatively little open hostility to religion, and one meets with odd survivals of an earlier age, such as the prayer with which each session of the United States Supreme Court opens: "God save the United States and this Honorable Court," in a body that, as Norman says, has in recent years done so much "to define the strict neutrality of the state. . . ."

Norman's book fulfills his purpose: to show that the redefining of the relationship of the state to religion from the mid-eighteenth century on "followed an essentially similar though chronologically uneven course" in the three countries embraced in his study. He does not pretend that his material is new, but he has given it a fresh approach along comparative lines, and students of church-state relations will find the book a well-written treatise. The final chapter, "The Problem of Education," embodies a series of examples that illustrate the principles and the history through which they evolved in the previous chapters.

University of San Francisco JOHN TRACY ELLIS

HUSBANDMEN OF PLYMOUTH: FARMS AND VILLAGES IN THE OLD COLONY, 1620–1692. By *Darrett B. Rutman.* (Boston: Beacon Press for Plimoth Plantation. 1967. Pp. xi, 100. $5.95.)

DARRETT Rutman's modest book, *Husbandmen of Plymouth,* belongs in the same tradition as Sumner Powell's *Puritan Village;* in describing the agricultural life of the Old Colony from 1620 to 1692, Rutman has dispelled many of the stereotyped notions held about farming in New England's first colonial communities. Even more important, Rutman demonstrates the degree to which farming determined the institutions and social attitudes of Plymouth's pioneers.

First, regarding economic institutions, farming and not fish or furs formed the basis of Plymouth's prosperity. Puritan immigrants in Massachusetts Bay provided the initial market for Pilgrim cattle and grain during the 1630's. When Massachusetts Bay merchants sailed forth later in search of new markets, Plymouth's agricultural products found their way to the Azores, Madeira, Spain, and the Caribbean islands via Boston. Hence, Plymouth's economic institutions were oriented primarily toward agriculture until the Old Colony was absorbed by its newer and bigger neighbor.

Social institutions were similarly influenced by farming. Communal agriculture was practiced in Plymouth during the early years; all persons were compelled to work in the larger fields laid out beyond the villages, the produce of which went into a common storehouse. Artificial "families" were formed during the first winter as unattached males were joined to natural families for the purpose of cultivating the same garden plot. Family structure, the manner in which home lots were laid out, the pattern of settlement repeated in one Plymouth village after another, according to Rutman, all reflected the farmer's way of life.

Social attitudes also evidenced the mind-set of the farmer. Since everyone was a part-time or full-time farmer, irrespective of class or occupation, Rutman argues

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that Plymouth's backwardness and resistance to change can best be accounted for by the common outlook of a rural people. Change, when it did come, was the slow product of consensus. Agricultural methods and attitudes in Plymouth were modified slowly and without much controversy, and, Rutman suspects, the same was true of the settlers' methods and attitudes toward other areas of human activity—family, church, community, and state.

Rutman's approach to Plymouth's history presents one point of view. Charles M. Andrews, writing about Plymouth thirty years ago, presented a different point of view when he ascribed the colony's conservatism and essential sameness to the religious motivation of the settlers. Rutman is saying that men's ideologies may be formed more by what they do rather than by what they believe. In writing about Plymouth's husbandmen, he makes a convincing case for his kind of history.

Clark University GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS

FROM SACRED TO PROFANE AMERICA: THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By *William A. Clebsch*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1968. Pp. xi, 242. $5.95.)

PROFESSOR Clebsch has, he tells us, approached the subject of the role of religion in America first as church historian and later as intellectual historian. In this brief, interpretive study he brings together insights from both of his "ultimately complementary" fields.

His thesis owes much to Harvey Cox's influential *The Secular City*, which argued that secularization stems from the beginning of the mission of Judaism and Christianity. Clebsch says that in each of six "campaigns" American religion has fostered movements leading first to sanctification of society and then beyond this to secularization. In each case the church has finally turned against its own secularized product. The six campaigns were for newness, equality, the spread of education, reform of society, nationhood (turning to nationalism), and finally pluralism. With special emphasis on the last of these, Clebsch urges that the church, which once aspired to provide overarching unity for the nation's secular cities, should now accept for itself the status of being one city among others. Clebsch dislikes the neo-orthodox style of the recent past, considering it a typical manifestation of reaction against religion's own successful campaigns for pluralism and reform.

The thesis is certainly fertile and usable, and therefore in large measure valid. Yet it seems to me to be applied in a somewhat too pat and optimistic manner. It fits some of the "campaigns," notably that for public education, better than others. And secularization has had its costs as well as its triumphs, a point that Clebsch occasionally suggests but generally slights. Pluralism, as many writers have shown, can turn into mindless as well as creedless religiosity. The secularization of the missionary impulse can have disastrous results in foreign policy.

This book is full of striking incidental insights on such important topics as race relations, religion in the Far West, and Sunday schools. Sometimes, however, its orbiter dicta are too simple: that the Civil War turned America into an urban and industrial society, that dollar diplomacy made us a Pacific power, that pioneer fears of fire and animal depredations led to prohibition.

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Like the theory, the writing is both interesting and occasionally overstrained. The use of metaphor is relentless and often awkward: "the proof of Scripture's pudding became history's eating." New verbs are created even beyond the current vogue: a western minister "optioned" a lot; the church's functions include both "traditioning" and "pastoring"; Solomon Stoddard "grandsired" Jonathan Edwards.

Clebsch admirably commands the immense and diffuse secondary literature on American religion, and he has effectively used miscellaneous manuscript collections at the Huntington Library. His book is difficult to read, well worth reading, stimulating, and sometimes convincing.

University of California, Berkeley HENRY F. MAY

NEWCASTLE'S NEW YORK: ANGLO-AMERICAN POLITICS, 1732–1753. By *Stanley Nider Katz*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 285. $6.95.)

IN this description of the flexible and "free flow of personnel, interest, and influence between England and New York," over which the Duke of Newcastle presided from 1732 to 1753, Professor Katz concludes that, despite its confusion and inefficiency, this "was the golden age of imperial politics in New York." He has examined the administrations of Governors Cosby, Clarke, and Clinton in their imperial context, discussed Anglo-American politics from the vantage points of the mother country, the governors, and province, and has deftly woven the story of negotiations for patronage and influence between provincial and imperial capitals into the whole.

Katz suggests that the Great War for the Empire altered the imperial government's permissive attitude, for it prompted officials to impose "specific demands" and "strict accountability" on the colonies in ways that aggravated Anglo-American relations. After 1754 "the easy interaction" of Yorkers and Englishmen "began to disappear," communications grew formal, administration became more stylized, "and there was less room for maneuver." Parliament increasingly intervened in imperial administration despite danger signals in the assembly's display of initiative and local leaders' resistance to attempts to reassert the royal prerogative. Katz's substantial account supports the arguments that, after 1763, imperial innovations endangered the fabric of liberty to which provincials had grown accustomed and that the crisis of the Empire was the result of years of too little government—too much indifference, vacillation, and reliance upon men and factions instead of measures or "policy." It also fits the argument that the patriots were the real conservatives who struggled to maintain their liberties in the face of threatened ruin.

Readers might expect a more direct line of comparison between British and New York politics than the author draws. He does show that colonial missions to Britain were inconvenient and inefficient and that colonists lacked important connections in an age when these were more important in determining programs and patronage than hard work and constitutional arguments. He does not, however, otherwise make clear why Americans seemed so ill-equipped to deal with their English counterparts, except to point out that the character of indi-

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viduals and their connections determined the nature of imperial control. Only briefly does he indicate that provincial politics mirrored the factionalism and confusion of early Georgian England. It would be interesting to know why experience in the complexities of provincial politics did not enable the colonists to deal successfully with those in Britain.

Largely based on manuscripts in British and American archives, the book is heavily documented and very well written. However, Katz apparently did not consult several biographies like Henry Noble MacCracken's *James Alexander;* such omissions, especially where a Namierist emphasis on men and patronage is concerned, are questionable. One also wonders why works cited in the footnotes were omitted from the bibliography. Yet the book's merits lead one to hope that scholars may provide other colonies with studies of comparable scope and theme and with as much excellence as Katz has demonstrated in this work.

University of Akron DON R. GERLACH

THE UPPER HOUSE IN REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA, 1763–1788. By *Jackson Turner Main.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 311. $7.50.)

THIS book attempts to determine, through study of the upper houses of the legislature, whether the American Revolution democratized political life. In the decade before independence, native elites and placemen dominated colonial councils. Provincial aristocrats were more likely to take the American side in the dispute with Britain than were placemen, men alien to colonial society and dependent on royal favor. An intensive careerline study indicates that the post-revolutionary senates were more democratically recruited though the upper strata were still well represented. Conceived as protectors of aristocratic elements, the revolutionary upper houses failed to perform their prescribed functions as checks on the democratic lower houses. This occurred, Main argues, because the senates recruited their membership from interests rather similar to those controlling the lower houses and because they became "arenas for disputes between incipient parties" rather than cohesive defenders of elite privilege.

In this study, as in the earlier *Social Structure of Revolutionary America,* Main repudiates much of the Beardian conceptual framework that organized the data in *The Antifederalists,* but he has not formulated an adequate alternative interpretation. Hence the analysis, though impressive for the indefatigable research on which it rests, lacks clarity and consistency. Main diligently searched for evidence of class conflict and found some, but he also found a "surprising" degree of political harmony among presumably rival classes. Main fails to reconcile conflicting evidence or to generalize coherently. He affirms that the senates "did protect property rights and the status quo far better than did the lower houses" but four lines later we are warned that "such an unqualified statement . . . is misleading" because "The senates ordinarily neither defended particular economic interests nor served as the instruments of faction" and were "almost indistinguishable from the members of the lower houses, except that they were somewhat more conservative and, perhaps, wiser." Maryland, however, is an anomalous exception, though why politics polarized sharply along class lines

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there and not elsewhere is puzzling. Main finds that intrastate sectionalism, rivalry among religious groups and between newcomers and established elements, as well as among factious personalities generated conflict, but he has not reconciled these findings with the class conflict thesis that he never quite repudiates.

Main is handicapped by a formalistic conception of the political and social orders. A legislature, he assumes, is democratic if the percentage of farmers in the two houses is about the same as the percentage of farmers in the adult male population. Furthermore, Main persists in assuming that members of a "class" have uniform interests and predictable political attitudes. Nor does he appreciate the dynamics of legislative or electoral politics. Thus no account is taken of the impact of deference on political behavior. Moreover, by using fixed amounts of property to classify individuals as "wealthy," "rich," "well-to-do," and "moderate," Main forgets that the amount of property necessary to make one "wealthy" varied from colony to colony; it took less property in Connecticut than in South Carolina.

The principal contribution of this book is to suggest that the upper houses were more democratically recruited after independence, but the reasons for this shift and its significance await further study.

University of California, Davis PAUL GOODMAN

THE NATIONAL WATERWAY: A HISTORY OF THE CHESAPEAKE AND DELAWARE CANAL, 1769–1965. By *Ralph D. Gray*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 279. $8.95.)

GRAY prefers "connected narrative" rather than "analysis of . . . economic impact"; his stated "aim" is "to tell the story" of the "origin, construction and operation" of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, to "estimate" to some degree "its national significance," to consider matters of finance, modernization, and "the struggle leading to government acquisition."

The fact that the Chesapeake and Delaware was truly a mixed enterprise that represented state, federal, and private investment does not make much difference. In its general outlines, this tale is much like that of many other canals and railroads. Heavy debt, low earnings, delayed repairs, inadequate maintenance, and incapacity to meet the needs of changing maritime technology, especially the requirement for enlargement, were the burdens of corporate poverty that faced the Chesapeake and Delaware. The history of this company, extending from 1824 until 1919, was as bleak as it was long. What is most astonishing is that a fourteen-mile canal linking the two bays, involving the trade of Philadelphia, Baltimore, the Susquehannah River, and points north and south on the Atlantic Coast, should not have been a more profitable venture.

Gray has suggestions along this line. He concludes, probably correctly, that the company suffered from an initial ailment of undercapitalization from which it never recovered. Competition from railroads and from coastal as opposed to inland waterway transportation added to the company's difficulties. Rebuilding and enlargement would have helped, but only government purchase and financing, unavailable until the twentieth century, could have made this possible.

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Gray's rash promise to evaluate the "national significance" of the canal is not fulfilled, a failure of minor importance. More significant are some of his lapses of judgment: company reports are not to be taken at face value; pressure groups like the Atlantic Deeper Water Association, which mounted an assault on the government to subsidize transportation improvements in coastal waters, deserve some investigation and critical analysis; the same holds true for the actions and rhetoric of both corporate executives and congressmen.

Some interesting details do emerge: the rivalry of the ports of Baltimore and Philadelphia for the Susquehannah trade in the early years; later collusion between the Chesapeake and Delaware and the Pennsylvania Railroad; the victimization of the canal company by shippers who were pacified only with rebates. Most impressive, of course, is the fact that the company was always a dismal failure as a profitable venture. Whether it fulfilled a social usefulness for the bay region and beyond is presumed but not established in this study.

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee NATHAN MILLER

AMERICANS FROM WALES. By *Edward G. Hartmann.* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House. 1967. Pp. 291. $6.50.)

WITH some exceptions, notably Berthoff, Shepperson, and Conway, most writers on Welsh migration to America have been either too parochial or too eulogistic to be of much interest to historians. To his earlier, solid work on immigration history, Dr. Hartmann has now added an intensive and comprehensive study of newcomers from Wales and their place in American life; it reflects competence both in the language and in the use of census data. The author shows a sustained awareness of the importance of conditions in Wales at different periods in its emigration movements, he handles the "Welsh Indian legend" critically and understandingly, and he traces with meticulous detail the establishment of Welsh communities in the colonial period and in the nineteenth century.

Americans from Wales documents the parts played by this small but self-conscious group in the American Revolution, the westward movement, agricultural developments, and mining and the mining crafts, especially ironwork and tin-plate techniques. Of special interest is the analysis of the religious commitments of the Welsh immigrants and their essentially "fundamentalist" position, whether Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, or Calvinistic Methodists. Also, the role played by the Welsh press is greater than one might expect. A most informative part of the book is the account of the cultural and recreational societies—the Gymanfa Gano, Eisteddfod, and Gorsedd—and students of church music and choral singing will find these subjects amply discussed.

Avoiding excessive parochialism and filiopietism, Hartmann has, in short, reported in detail the contributions of Welsh immigrants and their offspring to many aspects of American life. Biographical and geographical appendixes provide supporting evidence for his claims for these contributions, and the classified bibliography is especially useful. Finally, students of acculturation and of cultural pluralism will find the treatment of "Americanization" informative and thoughtful.

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This monograph, the result of more than a decade and a half of resourceful and dedicated research, is likely to remain the standard study of a small but important culture group that is generally neglected by historians of immigration.

University of Wisconsin, Madison MERLE CURTI

GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1775–1783). By *James Thomas Flexner*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1968. Pp. xvii, 599. $10.00.)

JOHN Bach McMaster once remarked that we know a General Washington and a President Washington, but we do not know George Washington. James Thomas Flexner, in this second volume of a projected three-volume biography, has undertaken the challenging task of trying to uncover the flesh-and-blood Washington, separating the man from the myth. The human Washington who emerges from these pages is quite different from the figure presented by the panegyrists of the nineteenth century, by the debunkers of the early twentieth century, or in the massive biography of Douglas Southall Freeman.

Flexner's approach to his subject was spelled out in his first volume (*AHR*, LXXI [July 1966], 1427). The facts about Washington's life were all there, Flexner claimed, but the resulting interpretations had erred either on the side of adulation or debunking and had failed to catch the true character of the man. Freeman's multivolume work, on the other hand, was a "scientific" biography with as little subjective emphasis and interpretation as possible. Although Flexner greatly admired the Freeman work, he felt that it did not address itself primarily to the main concern of his own biography: to reveal Washington's personality. Flexner's method for getting at the real Washington involved three stages: to master the original documents and to ignore all secondary sources except Freeman's work which he considered practically a primary source; to complete the research of Washington's entire life in this manner before beginning his writing; and to consult secondary sources only during the third and last stage of writing.

What have been the results of Flexner's approach in this volume? He has succeeded, perhaps better than any recent biographer, in capturing the contrasts in Washington's complex personality: his compassion and great rages, his optimism and moods of despair, his toughness and sensitivity to private and public criticism, and his frankness and generosity that was sometimes marred by spite and lack of candor.

One virtue of Flexner's method in working mainly from primary sources is that it often leads to fresh insights. In his generalship, Washington is portrayed as both fighter and Fabius. Flexner touches constantly upon Washington's belligerent streak, especially upon his often overlooked plan for a bold attack upon the British in Boston in 1775.

But there are vices as well as virtues in the author's approach. Leaving secondary sources until last has resulted in serious omissions involving the research of recent historians. Among other things, scholars have shown that loyalists were not all wealthy, that Washington was not necessarily right and Lee wrong at Monmouth, and that De Grasse played a greater role at Yorktown.

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This biography, because of its imbalance in relying upon primary and secondary sources, is superb when the spotlight is on Washington; it is less satisfying when the focus is elsewhere.

Clark University GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS

JOURNALS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA. Volume IV (DECEMBER 1, 1786–NOVEMBER 10, 1788). *George H. Reese,* Editor. (Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1967. Pp. vii, 403. $7.50.)

THE Virginia Constitution of 1776 provided the commonwealth with an executive arm consisting of a governor and eight councilors. All of these officials, including the governor, were to be elected by joint ballot of both houses of the legislature. The Council of State, thus created, seemed, according to St. George Tucker, "to possess whatever power to deliberate, that may remain with the governor." "The governor," continued Tucker, "can constitutionally perform no one official act without their advice." This awkward arrangement prompted Madison to observe that the council actually consisted of "eight governors and a councilor." It also explains why H. R. McIlwaine, editor of the first volume (1931) in this series, was able to note that the "journals [of the council] frequently give preciser information and more of it in regard to important matters than do the letters [of the governor] themselves, even when all of the executive letters bearing on any transaction are accessible." Part of the apparatus of control exerted by the legislature over the executive, as a matter of fact, required the Council of State to lay the full record of its proceedings before the General Assembly.

Jefferson, perturbed by recollections of his gubernatorial experiences, sought unsuccessfully, in proposals for revising the Constitution, to reduce the council to the status of an advisory board. But distrust of a strong chief executive persisted in the Old Dominion until the adoption of the Constitution of 1850–1851. The revamped Constitution provided that the governor be elected by the people, not the legislature, and abolished the Council of State. Madison, long before then, had decided that the council was "the grave of all useful talents."

This fourth volume of the journals of the Council of State, capably edited by George H. Reese, covers the administration of Governor Edmund Randolph. Editorial comments, in the form of footnotes, are kept to the barest minimum, though Reese, a better mathematician than the council clerk, on one or two occasions calls attention to errors in addition and in other instances cites differences between the text of the journal and that of an unpublished minute book of the council for the period December 5, 1787–October 2, 1788. Earlier difficulties in obtaining a quorum, especially during Jefferson's administration, no longer appear to impede the transaction of business, though now and then the proceedings embrace those of an earlier gathering that seemingly had been ruled unofficial because of inadequate attendance. The administration of a commonwealth headed by an executive wholly subordinate to the legislature unfolds here, at the same time that the Congress of the Confederation was fading away.

Virginia Historical Society JOHN MELVILLE JENNINGS

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THE PAPERS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Volume XII, JULY 1792–OCTOBER 1792; Volume XIII, NOVEMBER 1792–FEBRUARY 1793. *Harold C. Syrett,* Editor. *Jacob E. Cooke,* Associate Editor. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 677; xiv, 620. $12.50 each.)

In these volumes we see Hamilton, at perhaps the most difficult stage of his career, struggling bravely and on the whole effectively as Secretary of the Treasury to solve manifold problems that threatened to overwhelm him. The panic of 1792 and the failure of Duer seemed to demonstrate that those critics who charged in 1790 that the funding would become a mere engine for speculation were authentic seers. Stung by manifold, unfounded accusations of culpability, Hamilton lashed back. A series of icy letters to Congressman John F. Mercer almost led to a duel. Recognizing Jefferson's fine, Italian hand behind the newspaper attacks by Freneau, Hamilton, under a series of *noms de guerre,* wrote cogent rebuttals striving to make plain that the funding was an indispensable condition for America's continued growth and prosperity.

But despite these efforts his troubles multiplied and spread into other areas. Financial aid to the hard-pressed Bank of New York placed him in an equivocal position with the Bank of the United States. Having enthusiastically promoted the Society for Useful Manufactures as an embodiment of his Report on Manufactures, he was drawn ever deeper into the management of that doomed and faltering enterprise. Revolt against the whisky excise simmered in western Pennsylvania. The threat to his career and reputation contained in the Giles resolutions forced him, by Herculean efforts, to draw up exhaustive, detailed reports of Treasury operations. And all the while he was being blackmailed by the precious Reynolds couple.

These and many other subjects well known to biographers are covered by the documents in these two volumes. But perhaps the most original contribution lies in the presentation of the mass of letters and documents relating to the work of the Treasury Department. Here we see Hamilton in a new dimension—as a creative administrator—bringing rational policy and workable procedures out of a mass of hazy congressional legislation.

The splendid editing needs little comment in view of the commendation bestowed upon it by reviewers of the previous volumes. The editors' search for papers has been uniformly thorough; their voluminous notes provide clear background for all references and inferences in the documents. Particularly enlightening in this connection are the notes relating to the Mercer dispute and to the newspaper controversies. The fifty-five pages of correspondence between William Short and Gouverneur Morris considerably illuminate the complicated financial transactions accompanying the funding of the debt to France. The meticulous scholarship with which the papers are presented constitutes a fitting tribute to a great man and a great American.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill Elisha P. Douglass

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ANDREW JACKSON. By *Robert V. Remini.* [Twayne's Rulers and Statesmen of the World Series, Number 2.] (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1966. Pp. 212. $4.95.)

ANDREW JACKSON AND THE BANK WAR: A STUDY IN THE GROWTH OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER. By *Robert V. Remini.* [The Norton Essays in American History.] (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1967. Pp. 192. $4.50.)

These two volumes are in general based on the same materials, chapters in each being amplifications or abridgments of corresponding chapters in the other. As they are also informed by a common outlook and shaped toward a single conclusion, they may be reviewed as one. The first is a short biography; the second is focused on a single episode. While Remini is quite aware of significant recent work done by other scholars in the field, the terms in which he writes are essentially those of personality and politics rather than economy and society. Breezy narrative, fast moving and colorful, predominates over exposition and analysis. From the wealth of surviving anecdote Remini has chosen carefully, and he tells each story with spirit, style, and point. Strengths and weaknesses of all major characters are identified and demonstrated. Jackson is "the Hero" almost as often as "general" or "president." Biddle, president of the Bank, is also praised, but Webster and Marshall are almost ignored, and Clay is described as "one of the most overrated men in American history."

Since Remini is less concerned with the abstractions of social science and with nebulous metaphor than with the personality and will of the main actors, the dramatic clashes among them are in a sense subjective. He still reifies "the people": other men had been President of the United States; Jackson was the first President of the American people. "Jackson went to the people and asked for their support. . . . The people supported [him]." He defines Jacksonian democracy clearly, however. It preached the equality of men in their relations with the federal government, and it appealed for increased party participation by a mass electorate. Like Jackson, Remini attaches much importance to the organization and operation of political parties. The characteristics and achievements for which Jackson was condemned by his opponents, such as his passion for power and his "towering ambition," which the author candidly acknowledges, seem in his restatement of them to be attractive. So, too, appear other features of the period. The wildcat banking that began in 1834, severely criticized by some historians, is described as "a new and unfettered entrepreneurial thrust of heroic strength and dimension. . . . This currency and credit inflation constituted a tremendous boon to the country." Tariff, slavery, and sectionalism are given less emphasis.

Jackson gave the country leadership and thus created a new patriotism and a new nationalism. This nationalism, the author seems to imply, was political rather than constitutional, economic, or ethnic. "The Hero's" "dynamic and aggressive executive leadership," in which his greatness consisted, meant primarily enlarging the powers of one branch of the government at the expense of another. Whether readers will be delighted by these volumes or not, they are

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likely to be captivated by Remini's incisive comment, vivid language, and energetic pace.

Ohio University HARRY R. STEVENS

KING COTTON & HIS RETAINERS: FINANCING & MARKETING THE COTTON CROP OF THE SOUTH, 1800–1925. By *Harold D. Woodman.* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 386. $9.75.)

THE title of this book is a deliberate, ironic misnomer. Cotton, though a king, according to Mr. Woodman, was but "a puppet monarch," and the cotton-growing region, both before and after the Civil War, was a colony financially dependent on an undefined entity called "the North." The evidence presented to justify this hypothesis comes from the writings of many people, some contemporary with the situation they describe and others with knowledge based on study. In almost every instance, however, these writers were either politicians with causes, ideological propagandists, or students who had accepted this interpretation before beginning their research.

Only rarely have those who described "the southern economy" seen cotton as it was: a valuable commodity that was the basis of a network of interdependent and mutually profitable relationships between the areas in which it was grown, the seaports and river or railroad towns from which it was shipped, and those places where it was purchased by manufacturers. Instead, it has been seen as the means through which "the capitalists" of "the North" (that is, New York) have exploited "the South." The banks of the cotton-growing areas have erroneously been presented as debtors of those in New York, requiring "northern capital" to sell or ship cotton.

Woodman, as indicated above, shares this view, but, unlike many who have preceded him in this field, he has examined the surviving records of hundreds of cotton planters, factors, and merchants from the early nineteenth century to the present. His research, exhaustive and exhausting though it was, concentrated on the planter and the factors or local purchasers of the crop, however. He did not study the other "retainers" in any detail, and, though he occasionally mentions cotton buyers and brokers, his interest is centered primarily on the ante bellum factorage system, its resurrection and decline after the Civil War, and the failure of the cotton farmers in their effort to gain what he calls "economic independence" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

He also has three chapters on banks in the cotton-growing areas, but he does not describe the real work of these institutions, which provided the credit through which the factors were able to finance and market the crop for the growers and which, by the purchase and sale of bills of exchange based on the movement of cotton from producer to ultimate consumer, provided an easy and effective means for interregional and international collections and payments. The author, unfortunately, does not understand banking, credit, or money, and, consequently, though he has given a much more adequate account of the relation between planter and factor than any previous student, he continues to believe that the reason for the relative poverty of "the cotton South" was its dependence on outside capital.

University of Oregon THOMAS P. GOVAN

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AMERICAN SCIENCE IN THE AGE OF JACKSON. By *George H. Daniels.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 282. $7.95.)

WHEN Perry Miller died leaving his *Life of the Mind in America* unfinished, the section on "Science—Theoretical and Applied" was sufficiently sketched in to make it possible to judge what it might have done for the literature. George H. Daniels' *American Science in the Age of Jackson,* although restricted to the years 1815–1845, provides a substitute for Miller's section that is a very considerable improvement. Most American historians of Miller's generation were caught in a set of unproved generalizations about American science: natural history dominated the physical sciences among American research interests; science was dominated by interest in the practical, as opposed to the merely theoretical; there was a marked absence of specialization during the first half of the century; science was still largely a pursuit of amateurs. Daniels succeeds in dethroning all these sacred cows. In their place he finds a carefully defined community of professionals, largely born and trained in America, who worked from an implicit but highly structured set of philosophical ideas that added up to a scientific orthodoxy for the time.

Daniels does a good job of describing scientific orthodoxy in detail, including its empiricism, its connection with evangelical Protestantism and Scottish common-sense philosophy, and its quest, especially by analogy, for generalizations that would organize the facts so assiduously collected by American professionals. He makes a valiant case for calling this orthodoxy "Baconianism" and for connecting it with those ideas the nineteenth century thought that Lord Bacon held. This ingenious and beautifully executed exercise leaves me with only two reservations. The people who talked most about Bacon and spun out the philosophy of Baconianism were not major members of Daniels' professional community. Indeed, Samuel Tyler did not even make Daniels' basic list of fifty-five American scientists. At the same time, at least one of the professional people considered Bacon a mere sciolist. Secondly, the choice of botanical taxonomy as the perfect Baconian science is most dubious. That George B. Emerson called A. P. De Candolle a Baconian is much less important than that De Candolle's *Théorie élémentaire de la botanique* was the one important vehicle for carrying continental ideas into the American scientific orthodoxy. Specifically, the natural system from the first contained an ambivalence about whether affinity meant resemblance of parts or genetic connection. The resolution of the ambivalence in favor of the latter principle is precisely the route by which an orthodox American became a Darwinian. But the real strength of Daniels' analysis lies in his inclusion of all the sciences, some of which did indeed follow a Baconian pattern.

This book is important in itself, and it moves scholarship in the history of American science in a constructive direction.

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences A. HUNTER DUPREE

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION: AMERICAN IDEALS AND INSTITUTIONS. By *Berenice M. Fisher.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 267. $6.50.)

ARGUMENTS about industrial education, Professor Fisher tells us, are essentially arguments concerning the role of industry in American life. And as industry has

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passed through successive transformations over the past 150 years, conceptions of industrial education have changed significantly. Fisher sketches three clusters of images and ideals, each of which came to the fore at a particular stage of industrial development. The "philanthropic ideal," first enunciated during the Jacksonian era, cast industrial education as an instrument for preserving the independence of the new factory "artisan" by immersing him in culture through mechanics institutes, lyceums, and common schools. The "ideal of success," which came into its own along with the self-made man after the Civil War, conceived of industrial education as a device for group and individual mobility through the diffusion of scientific and technical knowledge. The "ideal of the skilled workman," which was closely tied to early twentieth-century concerns for efficiency, conceived of industrial education as trade training coupled with appropriate vocational guidance. These three ideals, Fisher goes on to say, have been interpreted differently in different regions of the United States, and so she follows the explicatory chapters with two case studies: one traces the development of industrial education in the South from the earliest efforts to advance southern manufactures through the massive programs of the General Education Board in the years before World War I; the other traces the development of industrial education in the Far West, focusing on southern California with its lively aircraft industry. A final chapter treats the period since the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, stressing the persistence of the three ideals and their relevance to present-day political and educational discussion.

One need only compare the substance and sources of this treatise with those of the classic in the field, Charles Alpheus Bennett's two-volume *History of Manual and Industrial Education* (1926, 1937), to sense the freshness of Fisher's approach. What she has really done is to place the problem of industrial education in a much broader perspective, examining a number of relatively unexplored connections with other aspects of American social and economic history. The very breadth of her inquiry, however, coupled with a certain lack of precision in her terminology and style, has lent a measure of diffuseness to the discussion that one hopes will be corrected as Fisher and others pursue further work on the problem.

Columbia University LAWRENCE A. CREMIN

REAR ADMIRAL JOHN RODGERS, 1812–1882. By *Robert Erwin Johnson.* (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1967. Pp. xiv, 426. $10.00.)

EXCEPT for the War of 1812 at one end and the Spanish-American War at the other, this book is virtually a history of the US Navy in the nineteenth century.

A naval officer register that did not include one or more members of the Rodgers family was as unthinkable as taking a ship to sea without a rudder. This John Rodgers joined the service in 1828, and, until his death fifty-four years later, he actively wore the navy blue.

Midshipman Rodgers entered a small, tightly ingrained sailing navy where his father, the commodore (also John), could readily obtain choice assignments for him. Young Rodgers went first to the Mediterranean in the USS *Constellation,* captained by his uncle. This was followed by duty in the sloop of war *Concord,*

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commanded by Matthew Calbraith Perry who was related to the Rodgers clan by marriage. The apprenticeship of John Rodgers was well guided.

The Civil War offered Rodgers and other officers of his generation a chance for daring deeds and personal recognition, and his combat experience during the conflict was extensive and varied. He took part in many of the more important naval actions. With the monitor *Weehawken,* he captured the Confederate ironclad ram *Atlanta.* Rodgers' most far-reaching strategic achievement was the purchase and outfitting of the first three Union gunboats on western waters. They were the beginning of a river force that fatally severed the Confederacy along the Mississippi.

Rodgers' long span embraced important events and revolutionary changes in the weapons of naval warfare. The Civil War was preceded by the Mexican War, and before that the Seminole Wars were fought in the forbidding Everglades. Improved technology brought steam propulsion, ironclads, rifled cannon, and steel ships.

Mr. Johnson's work is detailed and well-documented naval history. He writes "navalese" with a sailor's flair that becomes a little heavily salted at times. This book is a solid narrative account. However, it is one that is difficult to evaluate as biography.

The reader, and I suspect even the author, does not get to know John Rodgers or his influence and total impact on the navy. He never seems to be cast in the leading role. Rodgers lacks the flamboyancy of David Dixon Porter, the personal appeal of Farragut, the lasting intellectual stimulus of Mahan. Rarely do we hear his voice alone. Therein, perhaps, as an effective catalyst, lies the essence of John Rodgers.

Johnson foregoes the customary summation of his subject's attributes and contributions. In almost a final sentence he does note that the admiral's "career had encompassed so much of the Navy's history." To this one can only reply, "Yes, it did."

Navy Department WILLIAM J. MORGAN

SOLDIERS ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL. By *Leo E. Oliva.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 226. $4.50.)

IN *Soldiers on the Santa Fe Trail,* Leo Oliva sets out to provide "an integrated military history of the Santa Fe Trail from the first escort in 1829 to the arrival of the railroad at Santa Fe in 1880." He has no difficulty in establishing the important role the US Army played in guarding caravans and immigrants on that historic route or in convincing the reader that the trail was also a strategic military lifeline for the Indian fighting army on the Plains and in the Southwest.

After a brief and nicely balanced summary of the familiar history of the origins and rise of the Santa Fe trade, Oliva proceeds at once to detail a thorough, accurate chronicle of the early military escorts, the troubles with such Texan raiders as the Snively and Warfield expeditions, and the march of Kearny's "Army of the West." Along with O. O. Winther and others he correctly observes that the old Santa Fe trade operated exclusively by merchants ended with the Mexican War, but that gold-rush immigrants and a new freighting trade in military

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supplies pointed up the continuing importance of the trail until 1880. The Civil War period, highlighted by the Sand Creek Massacre and the Hancock campaign, marked the climax of the Indian troubles. After that the soldiers settled down to more routine tasks. The book closes with a clear description of the individual forts located on the trail and comments on the life of the soldiers stationed at these posts.

One cannot quarrel with Oliva's obvious mastery of his specific, if somewhat modest, subject, or his attractive, precise style. He has also gleaned some new sources for military history from the National Archives, although these materials confirm rather than revise our present knowledge about the trail. Still, by confining his story almost literally to the chronicle of on-the-spot military action, he weakens and limits his contribution in a number of ways. First, he must trace events the real cause of which lie outside the province of the narrative. Many California Argonauts and Pike's Peakers, for example, used the trail in the 1850's. But, since the gold rushes did not occur on the trail, they are not discussed here. Yet the gold rush and the Civil War together provoked the greatest period of Indian hostilities in the history of the route. Granted that detailed and accurate information about symptoms and aspects rather than causes can be useful, Oliva still might have mentioned the over-all strategy for the defense of overland routes or noted what role the trail played in defending the Southwest beyond Santa Fe. These broader defense and pacification concepts, which have been treated by Averam Bender, Max Heyman, Chris Emmett, and others, are largely ignored, as is the national government's policy. Military posts on the Plains were also centers for information about Indians of other than a military sort. After 1846 there must have been amateur investigators, various officers, surgeons, or soldiers who compiled information about the Plains Indians, collected data on road conditions, or even listed the local flora and fauna. These sources are, unfortunately, missing. Finally, we have little by way of comparison of the Santa Fe Trail with other routes. Since Oliva himself maintains, very correctly, that the story of the Santa Fe Trail is but part of our national history, these omissions limit the scope of an otherwise useful and readable little monograph.

Yale University HOWARD R. LAMAR

AMERICAN REFORM: THE AMBIGUOUS LEGACY. *Daniel Walden,* Editor. Foreword and afterword by *Ralph T. Templin.* (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Ampersand Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 117. Cloth $3.95, paper $1.45.)

AMERICAN reformers and reform movements have been so numerous and disparate in their aims and methods that the phrase "American reform" is little more than an abstraction. We have had reforms and more reforms, looking to different ends, advocated by different individuals or groups in response to different motivations, and supported or opposed by other people for a variety of reasons, prejudices, or loyalties. Despite the difficulty of generalizing about these varied activities, books purporting to analyze the American reform tradition continue to flow from the presses. This book originally appeared as the autumn 1967 issue of *The Journal of Human Relations.* It contains a foreword and after-

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word by Ralph Templin, editor of *The Journal of Human Relations,* an introduction by Daniel Walden, editor of the special issue, and eight essays dealing with selected aspects of American literature and politics from the 1830's to the 1960's. The contributors teach in the departments of history, English, and American thought and language at Rutgers, Wayne State, Pennsylvania State, and Michigan State Universities, and several other institutions. The work is poorly edited and seems not to have been proofread. The editorial errors are so numerous and glaring that they distract the reader's attention from the book's content.

The essays are a random collection linked only by the New Left-New Negro point of view shared by the editors and some of the contributors. The articles, however, are not substantial enough to constitute a demonstration of New Left scholarship. They may be written from a new point of view, but they offer no fresh insights. The ones I found most interesting are by Marvin Gettleman, Fred Greenbaum, and Warren Sussman. Gettleman's "Liberal Reform and United States Foreign Policy" has a provocative and important subject. The article starts out well, but turns into a polemic in which the author asserts rather than proves his points and cites his own works as authority. Greenbaum's "The Anti-Lynching Bill of 1935," the most informative essay in the collection, is not definitive, but should prove helpful to other scholars. Similarly, although Sussman's "The Persistence of American Reform" leaves some questions unanswered and others unasked, it is a thoughtful and succinct characterization of several patterns of American reform.

Ohio State University ROBERT H. BREMNER

THE BURDEN OF RACE: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF NEGRO–WHITE RELATIONS IN AMERICA. By *Gilbert Osofsky*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1967. Pp. xvi, 654. $7.95.)

LIKE flotsam from the current storm of race relations, publishers are tossing up reprints of dubious pertinence, superficial surveys of Negro history, catchpenny nonbooks, warmed-over rejected manuscripts of the previous decade, and pastepot documentaries by the dozen. Almost by nature documentaries are composed of shreds and patches, and this book is far from seamless. Yet, as its editor's "personal and selective vision of some of the most significant ideas that explain America's racial past," it merits serious attention from historians and others interested in the historical background of our present racial concerns.

Professor Osofsky achieves timeliness and pertinence in two ways. He groups his documents around what he calls "significant ideas," such as civil rights, white and Negro racial ideologies, Negro nationalism, urbanization, and recurrent debate between Negro militants and conservatives. And his sharply interpretive headnotes are not only empathetic to the Negro freedom movement but also conversant with the latest scholarship on Negro affairs.

Balance is maintained between themes, between records of thought and of action, between whites and blacks, between public documents and private testaments. The standard federal documents such as the Plessy and Brown decisions and the civil rights acts are included to register the tides of race relations, but

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the emotional timbre of racial attitudes also comes through in such vivid statements as William Wells Brown's choosing of a name, a white racist's and a Black Muslim's accounts of creation, and letters of sit-in students from jail. The final selection, a speech of Stokely Carmichael, will surprise readers who have heard only one or two sentences at a time on television.

Despite the editor's skillful transitions and the nuggets of scholarly interpretation in the notes, the book is a little too episodic or jerky to stand alone as a history of race relations. There are also some imbalances of selection. Two-thirds of the book is devoted to the twentieth century and one-third to the period since 1945. Though this no doubt provides a more usable past for the present-minded, it also limits the book's value for the student of slavery or of antislavery. Osofsky has a perfect right to his judgment of what is more meaningful, but the reader must anticipate such glaring omissions as those documents of the 1880's that might either attack or confirm the Woodward thesis concerning that decade of racial indecision before the "final solution" approach of the 1890's. Slavery is treated statically, whereas it evolved considerably over two centuries. There is a certain lack of subtlety in dealing with shades of race relations short of confrontation, and southern rural race relations are presented mostly in terms of struggle and flight.

Both the selections and the notes reflect the hardheaded reappraisal of white shams and pretenses, which also characterizes the current mood of the civil rights movement. In so doing, the book becomes an interesting document of its time.

University of Maryland LOUIS R. HARLAN

THOSE EXTRAORDINARY BLACKWELLS: THE STORY OF A JOURNEY TO A BETTER WORLD. By *Elinor Rice Hays*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1967. Pp. xviii, 349. $6.95.)

THE Blackwells were certainly an extraordinary family. Mama and Papa Blackwell emigrated from England in 1832, bringing their eight children, of whom the oldest was sixteen. Their ninth child, George Washington, was born shortly after their arrival. Elizabeth grew up to become the first accredited woman doctor; Emily also became a doctor; Henry, a lifelong reformer, married the feminist Lucy Stone; Samuel was the husband of Antoinette Brown, the first woman ordained a minister in the United States; Anna was a writer, Ellen an artist and writer; only Howard, Marian, and George achieved no fame. A joint biography of Elizabeth and Emily has long been needed; whether the addition of the other seven could result in a successful family biography is questionable.

One standard by which a biography must be judged is the degree to which the subject "comes alive." By this criterion Mrs. Hays's book fails. Perhaps any attempt in three hundred pages to bring to life nine individuals, eight of whom receive almost equal attention, is doomed to failure. Many chapters consist of one- or two-paragraph catalogues of the travels, housekeeping details, visits, and business transactions of each Blackwell in turn. To be significant, such personal data should enhance that which justifies the biography in the first place, yet in this book the trivia are recorded seemingly because the author had them in her notes. Motives and ideas receive far less space.

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Another criterion of good biography is whether it illuminates the mutual impact of the individual and his society. Here too the work falls short, and with less excuse. Occasional paragraphs on the historical setting in Europe and the United States are on the level of history textbooks, of which seven are listed in the bibliography. In their place one would have preferred to find several works not there, such as Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle,* Alma Lutz's biographies of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, Gilbert H. Barnes's *Anti-slavery Impulse,* and Arthur Mann's *Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age.* The book was evidently intended for the general reader; its usefulness to the scholar is further limited by the failure of the endnotes to show locations of manuscript letters, while the bibliography's list of libraries does not indicate which manuscript collections the author consulted.

This volume, then, is a good starting chronology and factual catalogue for the still-needed biography of the Drs. Blackwell.

Sir George Williams University AILEEN S. KRADITOR

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES. Volume XXIII. (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1967. Pp. 256. $4.00.)

SEVERAL contributions in this mixed collection of essays are translated from Norwegian originals. One, for example, sketches the life of Knud Knudsen and then prints the fairly typical America letter he wrote to his home newspaper in 1839, which describes his passage. When he finished the letter in Detroit on his way westward, he could already declare: "We have everything we had longed for, and are convinced that we will find what we are looking for." Clarence Clausen translates six letters home from the Gasmann brothers: ebullient Hans, who acquired 1,160 acres of Wisconsin farmland for his thirteen children and who vigorously confirmed the propaganda Johan Reiersen was writing about America and condemned the derogations of Pastor Dietrichson; and staid Johan Gasmann, a former sea captain who was only moderately successful in Wisconsin after he migrated at the age of fifty, was depressed by the Civil War and the skulduggery of politicians, and, after twenty years, still yearned for the mountains of Norway. Letters from youthful Knute Nelson at the Mississippi front in the Civil War vividly foreshadowed the energy and civic responsibility of the later public man.

Two papers bring out the significance of the Lutheran Church in immigrant experience. Eugene Fevold, professor of church history, minimizes the importance of religion as a cause of emigration, but quite rightly maximizes the role of the Church for the immigrant in America. Nina Draxten, who is preparing a book on the eleven years of Kristofer Janson in America, portrays in a second article (the first appears in Volume XXII) the tensions produced by the eloquent Unitarian's invasion of the Lutheran stronghold in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area in 1881–1882.

In two articles on well-known literary figures, Marc Ratner traces the developing thought of "The Romantic Spencerian," Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, and Arlow Andersen carefully interprets Knut Hamsun's disillusionment in America. Hamsun's intemperate attack on American culture in *Fra det moderne Amerikas aandsliv* (1889) was the response of a sensitive and angry young man to dis-

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appointment; it was later regretted by the author and never appeared in English.

The volume includes a bibliography of Norsk-Americana published chiefly in 1964 and 1965 and a four-page listing of accessions to the association's archives. Carlton Qualey, as editor, maintains the standards of scholarship that have given Norwegians the best-recorded history of any national group in the United States; with this twenty-third volume of *Studies* and twenty-five other books, the Norwegian-American Historical Association is well on the way to producing a "five-foot shelf" all its own.

Northwestern University FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

HOUSES OF BOSTON'S BACK BAY: AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY, 1840–1917. By *Bainbridge Bunting*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 494. $12.50.)

ANY inference drawn from the title of Professor Bunting's book that its major insights relate to local domestic architecture would be unfortunate. Its impact will be felt most in the field of urban history, to which the book offers a fresh approach. That the approach is so rewarding here may derive partly from the special circumstances attending the area's development.

The Back Bay's houses were constructed on new land, filled in and opened to building at intervals between 1857 and 1890, comprising a defined area along the estuary of the Charles from the recently opened Public Garden to the streams and flats out of which Olmsted's Fenway would be developed. As befitted an important civic improvement, the basically uniform lots were laid out on wide, straight, tree-lined streets, designated for residential use, and planned by a single designer, Arthur Gilman. Comprehensive building restrictions were a part of all deeds issued. In orderly progression between 1860 and 1900, principally on the three thoroughfares closest to the river and on the eight streets that divided their length, over thirteen hundred houses and apartments were built. The block-by-block development, largely by individual owner-occupants who were of a class that valued the unostentatious, produced a homogeneous ensemble in which the individual buildings yield interest to the urban area that was created. If the dedication of the area largely to the residential use of a narrowly diverse social and economic group limits the significance of the planned development, the fact that it occurred at a time when, in most American cities, individual initiative was generally uncontrolled and in a city that was then exerting its strongest influence on the national life confers upon the district's history considerably more than local importance.

The study, appropriately, has been conceived to give ample place to the effects of the introduction of machine production, mechanical equipment, and electricity, to measure shifts in the availability of materials, wage scales, servant supply, and public taste, and to delineate the characteristics of the late nineteenth-century American town house in its several styles and phases. The conclusions are soundly based on detailed examination of the houses themselves and on careful exploitation of municipal records. The 250 illustrations are clear, of good size, and placed close to the relevant text. The well-designed appendixes provide the construction date, the original owner's name and length of ownership, and the

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architect where known (fifty-two are named), for each of the buildings in the area. Excellence also characterizes other elements of the physical book.

The inclusion of material beyond the limits of the study and adequately treated elsewhere ("Topographical Development of Boston: 1790–1965," for example), extensive recapitulation at chapter openings, and considerable iteration in details make the text somewhat longer than was needed. Certain leading ideas seem overstated. One such is the influence of Baron Haussmann's boulevards on the plan for the Back Bay's streets. Despite the wide corridors Gilman provided, the system owes as much to the gridiron plan used in countless American cities as to the new Paris. Similarly, despite the mansard roofs and the academic detailing of the façades, the influence of contemporary French architecture in Boston may not have been of the importance suggested. These or other reservations do not impair the usefulness of this original study.

The Adams Papers MARC FRIEDLAENDER

ORIGINS OF THE WAR WITH MEXICO: THE POLK–STOCKTON INTRIGUE. By *Glenn W. Price.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1967. Pp. x, 189. $5.00.)

MUCH of Mr. Price's book reviews the evidence for regarding the Mexican War as a war of territorial aggression and asks why the main body of scholarly opinion, especially textbooks, has been so skittish about announcing forthrightly the conclusions to which this evidence points. While Americans have been at least as warlike as other peoples, the author tellingly reminds us, they have felt more constrained than other warlike peoples to develop an ideology and a rhetoric proclaiming their peculiarly peaceful disposition.

The book's contribution to historical knowledge rests on its analysis of a single incident: the effort by American agents to persuade President Anson Jones of Texas, on the eve of annexation, to provoke hostilities with Mexico. Price seeks to substantiate Jones's belief that these agents were acting on the instructions of President Polk and that Polk wished to annex a war along with the Lone Star State.

Unquestionably the American agents, navy Captain Robert F. Stockton and Charles A. Wickliffe, together with a group of Texans who had long agitated for a Texan offensive on the Rio Grande frontier, sought to persuade Jones to authorize a Texan military expedition. The only direct evidence of Polk's complicity is Jones's report that a spokesman for Stockton said that the scheme was approved by the American President, plus Jones's assertion that he later received some unspecified corroboration of the fact from the Texan representative in Washington.

Beyond these statements by Jones, the argument for Polk's involvement rests on a series of strained interpretations of various facts. It is contended, for example, that Stockton would not have reported to Secretary of the Navy Bancroft his intention to support the scheme with his private fortune unless he had previously been authorized to take such action. According to Price, Bancroft's instant response—ordering Stockton to avoid any act that might be construed as unfriendly to Mexico—was designed not to be obeyed but to be used later in ex-

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culpating the administration from responsibility for the affair. Where the Polk administration instructed its official diplomatic representative in Texas, Polk's old friend Andrew Jackson Donelson, to encourage the Texans to resist an actual Mexican invasion but to discourage them from initiating hostilities, these instructions are viewed as meaning the opposite of what they said. Where Donelson helped President Jones block the Stockton-Wickliffe project, it is argued that he had deliberately been kept uninformed about the scheme so that the United States could deny responsibility for it. These are some of the major arguments *for* Polk's complicity.

If these strained interpretations are to be credited, some evidence that the author has ignored must be explained. For example, Wickliffe wrote to Secretary of State Buchanan outlining the scheme and asking that Polk consider it and inform Donelson whether he favored or opposed it. More important, the scheme was inconsistent with the efforts of the Polk administration to reopen diplomatic relations with Mexico.

My disagreement with Price has to do, not with the objectives and general tenor of Polk's Mexican policy, but with the tactics he was pursuing at this particular time. His tactics, as I have argued in a book that appeared too late for Price to consider, were: to insist on the unfounded Rio Grande boundary claim; to rush American troops into the disputed border area as soon as annexation was formally accepted by Texas; and to use this military threat and the claims question to coerce the Mexicans into a diplomatic surrender of the territory Polk coveted—California, above all. The role of his unofficial agents was to assure the Texans that the United States would uphold their claim to the Rio Grande and, in this and other ways, to hasten their acceptance of annexation.

Stockton's machinations are best explained by his notorious independence and impetuosity, by his acquaintance both with Polk's general designs on Mexico and with his unscrupulousness, and by his susceptibility to those Texans who had repeatedly hatched militaristic adventures against Mexico and who were the most rabid supporters of annexation. Stockton faithfully reflected the spirit of Polk's Mexican policy. But Polk differed from his agent in more astutely recognizing the danger of an adverse public reaction at home and the possibility of achieving his ends by pressures short of military assault. Of course, when the tactics of peaceful coercion failed, Polk did not hesitate to resort to the alternative of military assault. But that was a full year later; and even then he contrived, in good American presidential fashion, to make the assaulters appear the assaulted.

University of California, Berkeley CHARLES SELLERS

JOHN O. MEUSEBACH: GERMAN COLONIZER IN TEXAS. By *Irene Marschall King*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 192. $5.00.)

INFECTED by French liberalism, Baron Carl Hartwig Gregor von Meusebach and his sons, Charles and Otfried Hans Freiherr von Meusebach, were disillusioned by the repressive atmosphere that prevailed in the German states following the Napoleonic Wars. After his admission to the bar in 1836, young Otfried served in several municipal administrations in a futile effort to arouse them from their political doldrums. Gravely concerned about the renewal of the Carlsbad Decrees

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and the restrictions on liberty supported by Prince Metternich, he began reading more and more about the American states. This book is the story of this young aristocrat's personal quest for freedom and his efforts to help five thousand of his countrymen find new homes in Texas.

In 1845 Otfried joined the Society for the Protection of German Immigrants, which had been founded by a group of German nobles three years earlier, and he accepted the position of commissioner-general to handle its affairs in Texas. When he arrived, as simply John O. Meusebach, he was appalled at the condition of the colonists sent by the society without proper supplies or money.

With the family motto "Perseverance in Purpose" firmly embedded in his character, Meusebach managed to transport, feed, and maintain the German settlers at New Braunfels and to found a new settlement at Fredericksburg. He negotiated successfully with the Comanche chiefs for the right to bring colonists onto the society's Llano lands, establishing several more communities. After two years of caring for settlers and constantly worrying about the society's inability to understand the problems and finance the venture, he resigned his position.

After a brief trip to Germany, Meusebach returned to his adopted homeland to find that his friends and neighbors had elected him to the Texas Senate. He married into a distinguished German immigrant family, and his wife bore him eleven children. He continued to look after his property, but he spent more and more time visiting old friends until his death in 1897.

The author, granddaughter of John Meusebach, former instructor and dean of women at Baylor University, and dean of women at West Chester State College in Pennsylvania, used the archives in Europe as well as in the United States; she has also used family files extensively. The book contains no criticism of Meusebach. Perhaps quite naturally, the author tends to justify his actions against all critics. She does, however, present a scholarly, fascinating story that makes the reader wonder how Meusebach would overcome his many obstacles. We see German colonization through the experiences of an able, cultivated man whose search for personal liberty and whose perseverance enabled many people to find new homes on our frontier. It is quite fitting that his tombstone carries the inscription: Tenax Propositi—Texas Forever.

University of Texas, Austin JIM B. PEARSON

CALIFORNIA RANCHOS AND FARMS, 1846–1862: INCLUDING THE LETTERS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS WARREN OF 1861, BEING LARGELY DEVOTED TO LIVESTOCK, WHEAT FARMING, FRUIT RAISING, AND THE WINE INDUSTRY. Edited with an extended introduction by *Paul W. Gates*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1967. Pp. xx, 232. $9.00.)

A BRIEF introduction of some ten pages, an "extended introduction" of five chapters and more than eighty pages, plus comprehensive as well as copious footnotes, and, finally, a series of special notes embodied in an appendix at the end of the volume provide the scholarly setting for the letters of John Quincy Adams Warren, which were written while on a tour of California in 1861. More important, the substantive information contained in the notes and the bibliographic citations

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more than validate the high esteem in which the editor of the volume, one of the high-ranking scholars in the fields of agricultural and public lands history, is held by the historical profession.

In addition to delineating the essential setting for the Warren letters, the extended introduction provides a brief history of California agriculture prior to 1862. The work begins with a discussion of the Mexican land grants, and succeeding chapters deal with livestock farming, grain farming, fruits and wine, and irrigation. It should not be surprising that such topics interested Warren as he traveled through the countryside, south to Los Angeles and north to the Sacramento Valley. Curiously enough, the two letters that focus on particular topics instead of geographic areas, agricultural fairs in one case and wool growing in another, are neglected in the extended introduction.

It is the editor's reasoned judgment that the Warren letters "provide an insight into farming in California that excels any other contemporary account." These letters originally appeared in the *American Stock Journal,* of which none of the known files containing the Warren letters exist on the West Coast; Gates has made them readily available to scholars in that area. He makes clear his editorial procedures including corrections of obvious errors in spelling and his checking of data when the sources noted by Warren are still available. In doing this, no errors were found.

In addition to the hallmarks of meticulous scholarship and the wealth of information that characterize an impressive bibliography of books, monographs, and articles, another indication of Gates's approach to the history of the public lands is not entirely absent: speculators, large-scale landowners, rings, and landgrabbers receive at least occasional mention. More importantly, at least two somewhat different, but quite significant impressions result from reading the introduction and the letters. The first of these concerns the replacement of mining by agriculture as the dominant economic activity of California before two decades of statehood had elapsed. The second undercuts any survival of the notions that "long-drives" of livestock originated in the late 1860's and that native cattle, whether Texas longhorns or California scrubs, monopolized the interests, the energies, and the funds of men involved in the livestock industry. The record of importation of purebred and high-grade livestock into California from eastern farms is impressive and convincing. A helpful index and some pictures enhance the value of the volume for general readers, as well as researchers. A map indicating exact locations visited by Warren would assist users of the book who are unfamiliar with California geography.

University of Kansas GEORGE L. ANDERSON

THE JOURNAL OF PRINCE ALEXANDER LIHOLIHO: THE VOYAGES MADE TO THE UNITED STATES, ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN 1849–1850. Edited by *Jacob Adler.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press for the Hawaiian Historical Society. 1967. Pp. xxix, 155. $8.00.)

WITH rank of "Special Commissioner and Plenipotentiary Extraordinary," Dr. Gerrit P. Judd was sent to seek equitable treaties for Hawaii with Western Powers and redress of grievances from France. The trip lasted from September 11,

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1849, to September 9, 1850, and he visited San Francisco, Panama, New York, Washington, London, and Paris and then returned. Judd secured treaties with the United States and Britain, but accomplished little with France. He was accompanied by two nephews of King Kamehameha III: fifteen-year-old Alexander Liholiho, later Kamehameha IV (1854–1863) and eighteen-year-old Lot Kamehameha, later Kamehameha V (1863–1872). Both boys were restive and subject to moral lapses involving, among other things, women and liquor. Judd used them, nevertheless, as examples of Hawaiian culture and civilization, and he had each keep a journal of the trip.

The swarthy Hawaiian princes were received everywhere with respect, and even enthusiasm, save by a few Americans. In France, the American minister, William C. Rives (from Virginia), offered Alexander "two fingers" as a handshake. In America the Princes had brushes with a dining hall steward and a railroad conductor. This was not unusual in mid-century America, but the Princes appear to have been anticipating discrimination and promptly ascribed the treatment they received to the color of their skin. Too much has been made of these incidents in attempting to trace the reasons for the anti-American and pro-British attitude of the later rulers.

Alexander's journal shows that both boys were quite mature and had an eye for beautiful women. But under Judd's close supervision there were few "indiscretions" mentioned although the boys complained of being "confined to quarters." The volume contributes little to our knowledge of things Hawaiian. There is corroborative detail about gold-rush San Francisco and the trip to the East via Panama, but nothing really new. Much of the journal discusses Paris, but it is often tedious reading. The Princes took little part in the diplomatic negotiations, but, where Alexander does comment, there is need for more background than the editor furnishes. The introduction often duplicates the notes in which there are strange omissions and a failure to recognize important personages. While it is regrettable that the notes do not accompany the text, the index is very full.

University of Hawaii CHARLES H. HUNTER

THE DIARIES OF PETER DECKER: OVERLAND TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849 AND LIFE IN THE MINES, 1850–1851. Edited by *Helen S. Giffen*. (Georgetown, Calif.: Talisman Press. 1966. Pp. 338. $10.00.)

PETER Decker's diaries are among the most informative of countless extant documents logging the overland trek to and the description of life at the California gold fields. These diaries have often been consulted in manuscript form at the Society of California Pioneers, where the originals are deposited. They will, henceforth, enjoy much more extended and well-deserved use in their present printed form. Their claims to pre-eminence among "overlands" are many. Peter Decker, an Ohioan, was literate, sober, tersely informative, and unpretentious. His entries en route were made daily with few if any exceptions, and although there were gaps in his diary kept while at the diggings, this latter portion of his record is an added informational dividend. To be sure, Decker was as lacking in imagination as he was indifferent to much of the human drama constantly being

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staged in his presence. The essential richness of his record is its lavish spread of information and commentary on all segments of the great gold-rush saga: organization of a company; departure from his home in Columbus, Ohio; the rendezvous near St. Joseph; the central overland experiences with teaming; river crossings; Indians; traders; the elements of nature; and, lastly, life at Sacramento and the Yuba River mines, with an exact record of amounts of gold obtained from each day's work at the diggings.

The overland company with which Decker traveled was called the Columbus California Industrial Association. Twenty-eight men comprised the group, which traveled in light wagons drawn by mules. All livestock, gear, and supplies were transported from Cincinnati to St. Joseph by river steamer. The overland trek began April 30, 1849, and it followed the well-established California-Oregon Trail to Fort Hall near which place the party took the Humboldt fork leading directly across the Sierra to Sacramento. The trip was successfully completed in exactly one hundred days. Even though Decker and his companions worked the Yuba diggings with considerable success, Decker soon discovered that, with prudent management, more profits could be made as merchant and banker than as a panner of gold, with much less toil. Decker ended his days as a respectable and affluent businessman whose address was San Francisco's Palace Hotel.

The editing, along with an ably written introduction, is the work of Helen S. Giffen, the society's librarian. Decker was himself a member of the society, which was founded in 1850.

Indiana University OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

THE FRAGMENTED METROPOLIS: LOS ANGELES, 1850–1930. By *Robert M. Fogelson.* [Publication of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 362. $11.95.)

THAT mass of settlement between Boston and Washington recently identified by eastern scholars as a special and novel American urban environment might as aptly have been observed to be Los Angeles with a few old core cities scattered through its matrix. In urban studies it has long been clear that if we are to understand twentieth-century America we must learn the history of Los Angeles. Until now, however, no full account has been available. Fogelson's scholarly work at last makes it possible to place Los Angeles with some confidence in the framework of American urban history.

Fogelson offers a complete narrative of the transformations of the Los Angeles municipality from the admission of California to the Great Depression, covering such events as the arrival of the Yankees, the railroad competition with San Diego, the establishment of boss rule, the conflict between public and private utilities, and the major charter revisions that created the modern bureaucratic rule of the city. He gives a careful account of the post-1880 waves of migration to the city and does some intelligent guessing about this demographic contribution to the city's uniqueness. Next he surveys street railway and water supply history to tell of their powerful impact on the city's physical form. Fogelson proves that a combination of streetcar lines and subdivision practices of the 1890–1920 era created

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the characteristic Los Angeles form. The automobile only continued this inheritance. His section on the commercial and industrial history of the city is more a review of promotion campaigns and the harbor projects than an exploration of the special qualities of this twentieth-century American industrial metropolis. The care and documentation that characterize Fogelson's presentation of this basic narrative make the book an excellent addition to the small but growing shelf of serious urban historical studies.

The major shortcoming of the book lies in the unsuitability of the historical materials to Fogelson's theme of Los Angeles as a fragmented metropolis. His theme runs as follows. Because the citizens of Los Angeles were unable to work out a democratic community that would include all citizens, of whatever class or race, and because they were unable to work out a structure for planning that could manage the development of the metropolis, the city soon ceased to be the small-town paradise Fogelson says Angelenos were seeking and became instead a conflict-ridden society of unhappy people who retired into suburban privatism where they "turned towards themselves and away from society, abdicated responsibility and accepted fragmentation." The chapter on "The Quest for Community" simply does not have the evidence to support this thesis, while the real estate, municipal government, utilities, and political evidence of the rest of the book does not lend itself to this categorization.

What Fogelson has done, without explaining it to the reader, is to measure the development of the city from 1850 to 1930 according to some of the planning standards fashionable today. For example, the Angelenos are chided for abandoning their transit system and thereby ending their chance for a single, large, central downtown. Some current planning doctrine, but by no means all, says a downtown is essential if a metropolis is to be a "community." Or Fogelson points out that subdivisions were managed so that there were few or no parks, so that grid streets ran without concern for the possibilities of the landscape, so that shopping strips straggled along the main arteries instead of being clustered. I sympathize with such criticism. Surely in urban history it is useful to employ the past as a testing ground for current planning ideas. To conduct such historical operations successfully, nevertheless, the historian must make a careful assessment of the potentials of the past and then try to guess what the alternative choices might have produced before rendering his final judgment.

Consider the transit issue. Fogelson says that the abandonment of the transit lines by the municipality was a "disaster." During the twenties and thirties some American cities pushed transit development, and some did not; yet subsequently all American cities have followed the Los Angeles pattern of development to a marked degree. Privatism and irresponsibility of the citizenry are as rampant in transit cities like New York and Philadelphia as in Santa Monica, which has no transit system. Therefore one doubts whether transit is a powerful determinant of community. Similarly, if the "City Beautiful" plans for boulevards had been carried through in the twenties, would the scenic articulation resulting therefrom have saved Los Angeles from fragmentation?

Such subjects perhaps can be investigated historically, but Fogelson's narrative does not support his judgments in this realm. Instead I recommend that the reader find here in the conventional subjects of urban history carefully researched

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evidence that will enable him to understand the sequence of development in our most important new city. He will as well find such a reliable report that he may confidently make comparisons of his own with other cities whose history he knows.

University of Michigan SAM BASS WARNER, JR.

THE EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1859–1964. In two volumes. By *R. Carlyle Buley*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1967. Pp. xxviii, 699; xi, 701–1475. $35.00 the set.)

R. CARLYLE Buley is the dean of insurance historians. His monumental *The American Life Convention: A Study in the History of Life Insurance* set new standards in the field when published twenty years ago. His present work shows many of the strengths of that pioneering effort. It is encyclopedic, clearly written, and offers valuable insight into the operation and philosophy of a major insurance company. On the other hand, these two volumes also suffer from several difficulties that have marred many company histories written in the last two decades.

First of all, Buley is unsure of his audience (although the size and price of the work indicate that it will have a large internal distribution at the Equitable). His first two hundred pages contain an excellent account of the insurance industry in the nineteenth century, but most of this will be familiar to historians and is rather basic. For the rest of the first volume, the author alternates simple and somewhat naïve sections, in which he places Equitable in the context of the industry and the times, with informative pages on the internal growth and development of the firm. His chapters on the Armstrong investigations at the turn of the century and the fascinating career of James Hazen Hyde, the playboy president, are well done, but contain little that is new. Then, after a fine chapter on Equitable's World War I operations, Buley begins to concentrate his attention once again on internal operations. The last two hundred pages are almost exclusively devoted to office politics, policies, and program development.

In short, this is not one, but three, books. The author has written a history of American insurance for initiates and has drawn upon his earlier work for much of the information here. He has also shown the development of a major insurance company and how it met challenges along the way. Finally, he has written a book that will appeal to and interest those presently employed by the company, as well as their competitors in other insurance firms. This comprehensive study follows a brief, earlier work, *The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, 1859–1959,* published in honor of the centennial of the company (*AHR,* LXV [July 1960], 995).

Each part of this work necessarily has a different audience. One would recommend the first to initiates in business history, not only as a guide to the subject, but also as an example of how it can be made interesting to the lay reader. In this respect Buley's book resembles the several company histories written by men like Marquis James. The second book should be required reading for business historians; it would go far in advancing their knowledge of developments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The last would be important for the

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Equitable family, who helped in its preparation and to whom the work is dedicated.

I am tempted to suggest that graduate students read Chapters I–II and VII–VIII, while professional business and economic historians overlook these and concentrate on Chapters IV–VI and IX–XI. Chapters XII and XIII on Equitable today, are apparently for the people at Equitable and might well be reproduced as a brochure for internal distribution. On the other hand, such readings would not give a full picture of the firm, so that perhaps each of the three groups should be prepared to overcome familiar, uninteresting, or arcane material in order to mine the valuable nuggets in these volumes.

New College, Hofstra University ROBERT SOBEL

ROCKY MOUNTAIN MINING CAMPS: THE URBAN FRONTIER. By *Duane A. Smith.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 304. $6.95.)

THE MINING FRONTIER: CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS FROM THE AMERICAN WEST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Collected and edited by *Marvin Lewis.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 231. $4.95.)

THESE two books represent a departure from the stereotyped study of the mining camp in the West. In *Rocky Mountain Mining Camps,* Professor Duane Smith describes the growth cycle that characterized mining towns from Arizona to Montana during 1859–1890, emphasizing the positive, constructive aspects of town life, and purposely avoiding the colorful, the interesting, the unique. In *The Mining Frontier,* Martin Lewis narrows his focus to the frontier journalist, presenting a scrapbook of fifty-six items, mostly newspaper articles, that illustrate the vigor, humor, and pathos of mining life. Although both works mirror familiar information, they reflect a healthy trend toward portraying the mining West in a more realistic light.

For his study, Smith drew on primary and secondary materials concerning eight mining towns in the Rocky Mountain West, with special reference to Colorado and Montana. In eleven of fifteen chapters, he discusses the camp as an extension of the urban frontier, the mining population, district organization, boom conditions, local problems, and community leadership. Concluding chapters touch on working conditions, amusements, and the demise of the town. Chapters IX and XII are particularly interesting. Chapter IX describes the rise of town government, the influence of the council, taxation and ordinances, and the striving for order and decency. Chapter XII generalizes on the high living costs, health problems, and unemployment.

Perhaps because of the general nature of the book there is an occasional feeling of repetition in the discussion, which in places becomes extremely prosaic and dull. The statement that the mining camp, unlike the cattle town, has failed to catch the public fancy is questionable, considering the pile of books written on Tombstone, Arizona, where farmers, cowmen, and miners all rubbed elbows. In the bibliography no reference is made to Earl Pomeroy's stimulating article on the mining West, or to the San Francisco *Mining and Scientific Press,* one of the

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basic sources on the mining frontier. Finally, the index is to subjects, rather than proper names. On the other hand, sixteen illustrations and a map enhance the book. In his study, Smith has pointed out a much-neglected aspect of western history; others will, it is hoped, mine the vein with even greater diligence.

Following a well-written, perceptive introduction, Lewis divides his book into three parts: "Placer Mining"; "Hard Rock Mining"; and "Comstock Mining." Within each part are about twenty articles, including poems and songs, portraying the varied sides of camp life in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West. These articles were published in early-day San Francisco newspapers, in the Lake City *Mining Register* (Colorado), in the Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise* (Nevada), and in a dozen other newspapers and journals. The continuity and the reading are often uneven, and the stories vary in quality. A delightful complement to the book are the illustrations depicting the "Miners Ten Commandments." There also is an index. Although promising much, this book presents little in the way of new material about the mining West.

University of Arizona HARWOOD P. HINTON

THE AMERICAN WEST: A REORIENTATION. Edited by *Gene M. Gressley*. [University of Wyoming Publications, Volume XXXII.] ([Laramie: University of Wyoming Press.] 1966. Pp. xiv, 172. $5.00.)

The American West consists of six essays and a preface of fairly uniform merit. Contributions, other than that by the editor, include: "California Oil Boom of the 1860's: The Ordeal of Benjamin Silliman, Jr.," by Gerald White; "The Horn Silver Bonanza," by Leonard J. Arrington and Wayne K. Hinton; "The Western Irrigation Movement 1878–1902: A Reappraisal," by William Lilley II and Lewis L. Gould; "Government Enterprise in the West: The San Francisco Harbor, 1863–1963," by Gerald Nash; "Railroads in Western History: The View from the Union Pacific," by Wallace Farnham; and "Senator Burton K. Wheeler and Insurgency in the 1920's," by Richard T. Ruetten. Each contribution increases our knowledge of western history and, where possible, links eastern and western institutions. Nash's skillful essay on municipal and state efforts to develop the San Francisco harbor is particularly fresh and imaginative, and Farnham's assertion for the need of more perceptive research on western railroads is indisputable.

In this preface Gene M. Gressley explains that the essays are a partial effort to correct "the deficiencies of Western history." He notes that "Western historians have been more inclined to perpetuate legends than to search for understanding." Gressley also suggests that it would be profitable for western historians to abandon nineteenth-century themes and concentrate upon twentieth-century western history. Yet only one contributor in the volume devotes himself entirely to a twentieth-century topic. This imbalance indicates that western historians contributing to this volume are more willing to restudy the nineteenth century than to venture into the twentieth century.

University of Oklahoma DONALD J. BERTHRONG

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HISTORY OF THE SANTEE SIOUX: UNITED STATES INDIAN POLICY ON TRIAL. By *Roy W. Meyer.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 434. $7.50.)

THIS book deserves to be widely imitated for Professor Meyer has given us a realistic picture of an important Indian group. Too often historians, in dealing with the relations of the American people and their government with the various Indian tribes, have overstressed the sensational and the spectacular. Meyer has successfully resisted this temptation. Although the outbreak of 1862–1863 was the central event in the history of the Santee Sioux, it does not receive undue emphasis or attention, and those events that preceded the outbreak are faithfully recorded and evaluated. The attempts of government agents to transform a tribe of nomads into a community of farmers almost overnight were foredoomed to failure as were the efforts of missionaries to force the Santee into abandoning their tribal deities and attending Christian services regularly.

The most valuable part of the book deals with the period since the outbreak. Here the author covers comparatively new ground, dealing with the exile from Minnesota, the fragmentation of the tribe into small communities, and the relationship of those communities both to the alien groups surrounding them and to the United States government.

While there has been a tremendous amount of research and, as a result, the book abounds in detail, this never interrupts the even flow of the narrative. The bibliography alone gives ample evidence of the enormous amount of research involved. The illustrations are well chosen, the maps adequate, the index full and complete. This volume can be highly commended. Perhaps more professors of English should write history.

Cheney, Washington EDGAR I. STEWART

PATRIOTISM LIMITED, 1862–1865: THE CIVIL WAR DRAFT AND THE BOUNTY SYSTEM. By *Eugene Converse Murdock.* ([Kent, Ohio:] Kent State University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 270. $7.95.)

THIS is a study of the bounty system and desertion during the Civil War. The draft was introduced after volunteering and a system based on state efforts failed. One of the clauses of the draft law that aroused much criticism permitted providing a substitute or paying three hundred dollars to be exempted. As a result of numerous abuses the three-hundred-dollar clause was limited to conscientious objectors in 1864. As Murdock shows, the draft provided very few men; the total in New York State was 3,210, with 18,197 commuting and 13,332 furnishing substitutes. The draft also encouraged bounties for volunteers. Local governments vied with one another in paying bounties so that the draft would not affect them. This in turn led to bounty jumping: collecting the bounty, deserting, and volunteering again to collect another bounty. Often brokers would provide the men. This system also invited corruption, and many "volunteered" while drunk, drugged, or intimidated.

Murdock seems convinced that the draft did not make the war "a poor man's fight," at least in New York and Ohio. He states that "in none of the three

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matters, commutation, substitutes and the actual draft is there any correlation with the wealth of the particular district." But popular opinion at the time was not convinced. The army provost marshals had the double, and almost incompatible, tasks of executing the draft and also catching spies and deserters. The enrollment officers were to visit every place of residence and copy down the name, address, and age of every male between twenty and forty-five. This task was quite difficult in the cities, and many people refused to cooperate.

Murdock seems overcritical of Governor Seymour and sees no fault in General Fry. Seymour did protest the draft quotas, particularly in New York and Brooklyn, and Lincoln consequently reduced the quotas, not "solely by the desire to appease Seymour" but because they were obviously unfair. The Republican *Tribune* spoke of the crews of ten ships that had been enrolled at a single pier. Republican Governor Fenton said New York's quota was "too well calculated to justify unfavorable criticism," and the Allen Commission report said the enrollment was imperfect and erroneous "and certainly excessive in the cities of New York and Brooklyn."

This book covers its subject well, and it may lead to further work in this almost neglected topic.

Manhattan College BROTHER BASIL LEO LEE

BEYOND EQUALITY: LABOR AND THE RADICAL REPUBLICANS, 1862–1872. By *David Montgomery*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1967. Pp. xi, 508, xix. $10.00.)

PROVOCATIVE but badly organized, this study attempts unsuccessfully to impose a new pattern of interpretation upon a turbulent decade by fusing labor and political history. According to the stated thesis, Republican radicalism foundered on the "submerged shoal" of class conflict created by the demands of wage earners in a period of stable costs and downward prices. The relevant evidence points to the more modest conclusion that Republicans in the postwar years differed in their attitudes toward labor and their response to labor's demands, specifically to pressure for greenback and eight-hour legislation. Any proof that such differences undermined the assumed hegemony of the Radicals from 1866 to 1868 completely eludes me. Most of the book is unrelated to the central argument, and some statements appear to contradict it.

The analysis is also delimited by questionable assumptions and a diffused focus. Accepting the status of the freedman as the central issue of Reconstruction politics, the author yet insists that the interests and influence of businessmen were root determinants of political behavior. Secondly, he assumes that the epoch's "scattered fragments"—all of its happenings—can be gathered together and synthesized into a unity of meaning. Finally, he identifies Radicals with the individualistic entrepreneur and the advocacy of "soft money" policies while defining radicalism in terms of general concepts, including "optimistic utilitarianism." This compounds the current uncertainty as to the nature of radicalism and the identity of the Radicals, a problem now under attack by quantitative techniques. Without a clear identification of "the Radical Republicans" of his title,

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it is hardly possible for the author to establish their reaction to the demands of labor.

Despite a defective structure, the substance of the volume has much to offer the student of the period. The author's view of the Stalwarts as a new leadership bloc adept at the politics of accommodation, including concessions to labor, is intriguing. In dealing with the economy and with a variety of efforts to improve labor's lot, he presents many fresh explorations of familiar and unfamiliar material. Census statistics are used to show that by 1870 the United States was predominantly a nation of "hirelings." Data on ninety-six wage earning labor leaders of the 1860's have been assembled and analyzed. Those almost forgotten men prove to have been predominantly native- or British-born, not churchgoing but religious, advocates of temperance, and sons of wage earners rather than of farmers. Little-known figures in the world of labor are brought to life in a series of vignettes. The impact of the ten-hour movement on the old whaling village of New Bedford, Connecticut, becomes an intimate story of how good will between millworker and benevolent bosses turned into bitterness and frustration. This is but a sampling. The author's breadth and depth of research are attested by appendixes, footnotes, and bibliography, and stimulating ideas are prodigally scattered throughout the book.

Hunter College LaWanda Cox

A CENTURY OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS AT McCORMICK AND INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER. By *Robert Ozanne*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967. xvii, 300, $7.50.)

Despite clumsy form and heavy style, this study of industrial conflict, "welfare capitalism," and collective bargaining at the McCormick Works and the International Harvester Company from 1862 to the present is very valuable. Too much labor history ignores manuscript company records and draws largely from labor journals, newspapers, and public documents, while the inner workings of corporate labor policy remain a mystery. Robert Ozanne has written a different kind of work that draws deeply from the McCormick Collection at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the yield is rich, selective, and important. No work in labor history that covers so long a period has mined so much buried in massive company archives. Ozanne shows how little is yet known about historic corporate labor practices.

A few themes will be noted. Running throughout (backed by solid evidence and sodden prose) is the convincing argument that wage increases and other improvements did not result from increased productivity, company benevolence, or changing attitudes among employers. Instead, these were responses to threatened or actual strikes, occasional displays of union power, and fear of legislative investigation. A continuous company record also allows Ozanne to test, modify, and even gently discard some widely held "theoretical" formulations by labor economists serving as historians. Here the work is most useful. The vitality and periodic success of nineteenth-century craft unions, shared by unorganized, unskilled workers, are demonstrated; the fact that this firm fought the well-organized

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iron molders from 1885 to 1886 by mechanizing their work and, incidentally, raising rather than lowering unit costs is also shown. Chapters dealing with the multiplant corporation and the era of "welfare capitalism" (1900–1941) examine in devastating detail how a multiplant corporation with huge financial resources regularly repulsed collective bargaining. Early stock gifts and sickness, accident, pension, and profit-sharing programs are explored in context and in consequence. Their relationship to threatened strikes from below and public scrutiny from without is convincingly illustrated. Ozanne also shows that the Harvester Industrial Councils (Works Councils), "company unions" that lasted from the First World War until 1941, were "mercilessly manipulated by Harvester management." Ozanne does not succeed in explaining fully why industrial unionism came so late and then only after two convictions for violating the Wagner Act, substantial government pressure, and agitation from below sparked by radical CIO unions. Later chapters illuminate changes since 1941, especially the struggle between the Farm Equipment union and the UAW and recent accommodations between labor and management.

It is interesting that the book serves other than labor historians. The company records reveal conflict within the McCormick family over labor policies (even a "generational gap" between the founder's widow and her young manager-son, fresh from Princeton) and efforts, since criticized but seemingly innocent, by Gertrude Beeks, Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, and John Dewey to humanize Harvester. The mind of plant manager and executive emerges superbly from heavily quoted minutes of conferences held during the critical 1903–1904 labor troubles. Brody's and Garraty's view about the differences between resident managers and banker executives such as George Perkins of the House of Morgan are significantly qualified. Supporters of the National Civic Federation, Perkins and McCormick nevertheless bitterly fought union recognition at Harvester. Perkins emerges from these pages less glossy than in recent studies. Finally, Ozanne gives careful attention to company policy toward Negro workers.

Despite this fund of new information, the study is not without serious weaknesses. It is too closely tied to company manuscripts, and the use of other sources is too narrow. The workers and their world inside and outside the factories never come to life and are seen largely through company records. Nor is enough attention given to the ethnic dimension among the workers, for example, restricting Work Council membership to American citizens. The style is heavy throughout; the organization confused in places. There is much repetition and didactic or tendentious rhetoric, as well as occasional, jarring labor relations jargon. What a rich and talented stylist could do with a self-serving Pinkerton detective (1885) accusing Irish Chicago police of "Molly Maguire" sympathy, a firm that bans interplant football games to weaken worker solidarity and distributes free *Saturday Evening Post* and *Ladies Home Journal* subscriptions to win worker loyalty (1903), an industrial relations "expert" who checks labor absenteeism the day of Sacco and Vanzetti's execution (1927), and a Work Council that spent the summer of 1932 figuring ways to sell employees Mason jars and prevent pilferage from garden plots. Ozanne's work also lacks a comparative dimension. He wants us to believe that "the significance of the Harvester story . . . may be its representativeness." That will only be known when a fuller

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record is in and manuscripts of other large corporations have been studied intensively. This work is a welcome beginning.

University of Rochester HERBERT G. GUTMAN

THREE CARPETBAG GOVERNORS. By *Richard N. Current.* [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, Louisiana State University.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1967. Pp. xiii, 108. $3.75.)

ACCORDING to the *Nation* (X [May 19, 1870], 320), the New York *World*'s claim to have invented "the excellent word 'carpetbagger' " soon after Appomattox was wrong. The *Nation*'s literary critic insisted that the word "carpetbagger" was four hundred years old instead of four. He had traced it back to Enguerrand De Monstrelet's fifteenth-century *Chronicles* where it appeared as *saquemain*. Whether or not the *Nation*'s or the *World*'s etymology is correct, it is clear that in medieval France or in Reconstruction America a carpetbagger was not a nice person. Instead, again quoting from the 1870 *Nation* column, a carpetbagger "was an adventurer from abroad, for the time being in a post of some consequence, and making the most of his opportunity by pillage. . . ."

This pejorative estimate of American carpetbaggers took form soon after Appomattox, and for close to a century it has remained the basic stereotype. Until recently, savants insisted—many still do—that the carpetbaggers were men of base characters and low purposes, fit for association only with the equally venal scalawags and the tragically credulous freedmen. If these tenacious evaluations are to be believed, unrelieved vindictiveness and self-interest motivated these white men and their dark measures.

But it appears probable that as a profession we shall overcome this traditional depiction. In company with his "Carpetbaggers Reconsidered" essay in the 1964 Frederick B. Artz *Festschrift,* Professor Current's *Three Carpetbag Governors* adds significantly to the growing literature that makes it increasingly difficult to credit this demonology. Current suggests that, like Republicans generally, carpetbaggers were too diverse for simple cataloguing. Even this trio of governors—Harrison Reed, Henry Clay Warmoth, and Adelbert Ames—ranged the Republican political spectrum from conservative to radical as men measured matters a century ago, not as we do more recently. Whatever else they were, Current's trinity were not cynical demagogues or corrupt dictators, either by mid-nineteenth-century standards or by our own.

The space alloted for this review is too brief for extended consideration of this impressive little book; the book itself is too small to be more than a suggestive introduction to its important subject. Questions more than answers crowd its pages, always the sign of useful scholarship. Current has whetted appetites again for his full study of the carpetbaggers, which, I hope, these lectures anticipate.

When it appears, I hope also that Current will re-evaluate his suggestion on page 23 that Andrew Johnson's impeachment "set the fashion" for others in southern states directed against carpetbaggers. But, as matters stand, Current's contribution to the useful revision of the entire Reconstruction experience, in

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which the profession is engaged and in which he is a front-runner, now looms even larger.

Rice University HAROLD M. HYMAN

WASHINGTON GLADDEN: PROPHET OF THE SOCIAL GOSPEL. By *Jacob Henry Dorn.* ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1967. Pp. x, 489. $8.00.)

THE late Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., pointed out many years ago that American Christianity in the late nineteenth century faced two great challenges, that of the new science and scholarship on the one hand and of urban-industrialism on the other. The career of the Reverend Washington Gladden, who lived from 1836 until 1918, is a good vantage point from which to view the progressive response to both of these challenges. Although Gladden published his *Recollections* in 1909, he has not been the subject of a full-length biographical study until now. This book, done originally as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Oregon, admirably fills a longfelt need.

The first chapter deals briefly with Gladden's childhood in Owego, New York, and his education at Williams College in the era of Mark Hopkins. The next three chapters take his career chronologically through his early pastorates in North Adams and Springfield, Massachusetts, his work as religious editor of the *Independent,* and his ministry at the First Congregational Church of Columbus, Ohio, where he served for more than thirty years. The remaining eleven chapters are organized topically. One describes Gladden's prominent place in the national councils of Congregationalism; another covers his contributions to the movement for greater church unity. Two show his part in the development of Protestant Modernism, particularly his ready acceptance of evolutionary science and his accommodation to higher criticism of the Bible and his opposition to fundamentalism as represented by Billy Sunday. The remaining seven chapters, comprising about half of the book, detail his role as "Prophet of the Social Gospel": his interest in the labor movement, his rejection of laissez-faire economics, his protest against acceptance of a Rockefeller donation ("tainted money") by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, his attitude toward the problems of poverty and race relations, his work for civic betterment, and his views on international affairs.

The book is based on prodigious research in original letters and sermons as well as Gladden's voluminous published writings. The relevant secondary works have been effectively utilized. The documentation is thorough, and the footnotes appear at the bottom of the page. The writing is excellent; the author has resisted what must have been a constant temptation to quote too much verbatim. The book has been attractively printed and meticulously proofread. The author has made an admirable contribution to American church history.

Pennsylvania State University IRA V. BROWN

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GOVERNMENT IN SCIENCE: THE U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, 1867–1894. By *Thomas G. Manning*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 257. $7.00.)

In the late nineteenth century federal support for science materialized for two areas: agriculture and geology. This excellent monograph narrates the origins and early history of the US Geological Survey, focusing on the directorship of J. W. Powell. The survey had its origins in several post-Civil War, trans-Mississippi surveys. Founded in 1879, it achieved permanence in 1886 and flourished until Powell encountered congressional difficulties in 1892 that ultimately forced his resignation and led to a brief decline in the survey's activity. During these early years the survey undertook important investigations in economic geology, geological theory, paleontology, and topography; gave support to the growing conservation movement; and undertook a major irrigation survey of the arid West, an investigation that ultimately meant political disaster for Powell. A brief epilogue recounts the development of the survey in the twentieth century and suggests why a more detailed history in this period would not be a particularly profitable enterprise.

Much of the book is devoted to the politics of science in late nineteenth-century America. Here Manning does not substantially modify the account in Dupree's *Science in the Federal Government,* but he does provide much more detail, and the detail is both illuminating and fascinating. Most of the actors in this political drama, with the possible exception of Powell, remain shadowy individuals, but Manning is providing political analysis, not biography, and his judgments seem in all cases judicious and well supported.

Manning also surveys and appraises the scientific activities of the Geological Survey. It would take a professional geologist to tell whether the author is accurate in all details. But I was impressed by the clarity of his account and by the balance of his appraisals. Certainly most historians who read this book will be pleased to learn that the history of geology in this period can be presented so clearly and understandably. Writing a history of the scientific achievements of an organization is often a dangerous enterprise. It can produce a dull listing of disparate and unrelated scientific projects. But Manning does an excellent job of putting the survey's research into the larger context of late nineteenth-century geology. So successful was the survey in attracting excellent American geologists to its staff that the history of the Geological Survey comes close to being a history of American geology in this period.

Four other features of this book add to its excellence. The author has provided brief chapter summaries; there is a brief but judicious critical bibliography; the footnotes are at the bottom of the page; the index is exceptionally full. This is a first-rate monograph, the result of years of research, and it is written with exceptional clarity. It cannot be overlooked by anyone with any serious interest in the history of American science.

State University of New York, Albany Kendall Birr

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A PLACE OF LIGHT: THE HISTORY OF WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY. A CENTENNIAL PUBLICATION. By *Leslie L. Hanawalt.* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1968. Pp. 512. $8.95.)

OFFICIAL accounts of American universities must be judged by increasingly rigorous standards as social and intellectual historians enrich the cultural context of our educational history. Certainly the dramatic rise of Wayne State University in Detroit merits national attention; a distinguished faculty, arresting architecture, and an experimental undergraduate college mark an institution providing one of the few civilizing influences in a brutal metropolis. Wayne University dates from the unification in 1933 of five colleges operated by the Detroit Board of Education. The oldest, the Detroit College of Medicine, founded in 1868, justifies the current centennial. The focal unit, the College of the City of Detroit, grew from a junior college created in 1917 by David Mackenzie, distinguished principal of Central High School. Backed by Detroit's school superintendents, Wayne developed into an outstanding municipal college during the 1930's. Reorganization as a state university in 1956 gave appropriate recognition to its role and promised ampler resources for the future.

This book, by a veteran of Wayne's English faculty, is unworthy of its subject. Hanawalt's research is assiduous, but his interpretation is trivial and his writing uncouth. An opening section depicts unification in 1933. Subsequent chapters trace the history of the constituent colleges from their foundation, deal with internal development during the 1930's, and, less extensively, with postwar transformations. There is important information here, particularly on the Detroit College of Medicine, but Hanawalt inadequately defines Wayne's educational significance. His models are journalistic rather than scholarly; often he writes for fellow old-timers. ("Alumni of that period will recognize in the lists below a number of the live wires.") Such lists of names and odd statistics clutter his narrative; discursive footnotes occasionally contain more important information than the text. Hanawalt's portrait of college life resembles an old-fashioned yearbook. He fails to measure the impact of the modern university on the careers of its students and, through them, on metropolitan Detroit. Wayne's leadership is more extensively portrayed, though without systematic consideration of its political and social context. Here, too, the author mingles the trivial with the significant. Instead of providing the expert editing Hanawalt vitally needed, Wayne's press has multiplied his typographical errors, substituted a photograph without altering what becomes an anachronistic caption, and consistently misnumbered pages in the list of illustrations.

University of Denver THEODORE R. CRANE

AN EARLY VIEW OF THE LAND-GRANT COLLEGES: CONVENTION OF FRIENDS OF AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN 1871. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press for the Committee on the Centennial of the University of Illinois. 1967. Pp. xv, 147. $5.50.)

IN many respects this volume is unique. Except for a brief introduction it is almost completely a verbatim transcript of a single informal, largely unstructured

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conference that met in Chicago for two days in August 1871. The summons "To the Friends of Agricultural Education" had been issued by a dozen leaders of agricultural colleges and kindred institutions. The response brought together a score of representatives ranging geographically from Massachusetts to Kansas and from Mississippi to Minnesota and ranging academically from two superintendents of university farms through professors of agriculture to college presidents.

At the outset "The Convention resolved itself into a sort of experience meeting." In this "see and tell" situation lies the usefulness of the book for the historian. Individuals interested in the level of research and experimentation at the time will find the informal reports and discussions amateurish by modern standards, though presented with obvious earnestness. Other items considered by the participants were more revealing. They opposed the concept of manual labor institutions, and where student labor might be required, it was to be paid for at the current rate of about twelve and a half cents an hour. The representative from the Pennsylvania Agricultural College reported that student labor did everything from kitchen work to cleaning out the privies. Coeducation received solid support, an Iowan declaring that, "Sexual isolation for the purpose of culture is contrary to nature; it makes boys rough and girls silly." A wide range of other topics also received consideration.

The book's value for the historian rests in the glimpses provided of the debate on the comparative merits of practical and theoretical training current at the time and its revelations of student life. Individuals interested in the history of agricultural education will find it valuable, both for the broader concepts and for vignettes of particular institutions. Administrators of agricultural colleges will find that problems that seem to be contemporary agitated their counterparts a century ago, including the public and private pressures operating on their institutions, the balancing of theory and practice, the need for efficient public relations, and the effective dissemination of the results of research and experimentation.

The book would have benefited from a somewhat fuller introduction and the addition of an epilogue, both designed to fit the Chicago convention more completely into the history of land-grant education in its early years.

Pennsylvania State University NEIL A. MCNALL

THE SOUTH REJECTS A PROPHET: THE LIFE OF SENATOR D. M. KEY, 1824–1900. By *David M. Abshire*. Foreword by *Ralph McGill*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xii, 250. $5.95.)

DAVID M. Key figured only briefly in national politics. On the death of Andrew Johnson in 1875, he was appointed to Johnson's place in the United States Senate. There he made speeches in favor of sectional reconciliation and in support of the compromise of 1877. His stand offended the Democratic boss of Tennessee, Isham G. Harris, who promptly ended Key's senatorial career. But the Republican Rutherford B. Hayes, once he was safely in the presidential office, rewarded Key with the position of Postmaster General, though Key was a Democrat and had been an eager secessionist and then a Confederate colonel. After three years,

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during which the "star-route frauds" in his department began to come to light, Key resigned from the cabinet to accept appointment as a federal district judge in Tennessee.

Key's biographer does not claim great political importance for the man, conceding that he was "too void of personal ambition and diplomatic acumen to achieve real political effectiveness." Instead, the author presses the theme that Key was a "prophet" who looked toward the elimination of the racism and machine politics upon which the Solid South was based. According to the evidence presented, however, Key was hardly very far advanced in his thinking on racial matters. He believed in white superiority, upheld the "separate but equal" doctrine, and approved of Booker T. Washington.

In an effort to portray his subject in vivid scenes, the author has engaged in "minute human-interest research." He might better have put a little more time into the study of American history. Incorrect or dubious statements abound. Two errors are packed into a single sentence when the Reconstruction Acts are described as providing for the readmission of a state after it "had drawn up a constitution disfranchising those who had fought for the Confederacy and enfranchising the Negroes by ratifying the new Fourteenth Amendment." The familiar Radical leaders are scarcely recognizable when they are pictured as "pock-marked Thad Stevens, and Senator Charles Sumner, who walked with a limp and seemed to curse life itself."

The book takes a rather naïve view of Key as well as of his times. It adds nothing of value to what Vann Woodward has long since revealed about the national events in which Key had a part.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro RICHARD N. CURRENT

JOHN ROGERS, THE PEOPLE'S SCULPTOR. By *David H. Wallace*. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1967. Pp. xv, 326. $20.00.)

IN the 1870's and 1880's, John Rogers was a popular sculptor, and his elaborately detailed and amusing little groups appeared on many a Victorian parlor table throughout the United States. Almost more than any other achievement in the arts, Rogers' groups reflected the middle-class tastes of a middle-class nation. It was not a courtly or elegant art, but rather one that told a charming story, presented an acceptable moral, and conveyed a simple idea. While it might actually have been shallow, provincial, and superficial, according to David Wallace it wrought a "revolution in the people's attitude towards . . . sculpture" that was important for the development of that art in the United States.

The value of Wallace's competent but limited study of Rogers' work lies in the information it presents about one aspect of popular taste during the second half of the nineteenth century, with its preference for anecdote, sentiment, gentle humor, action, and an identifiable personality. Wallace briefly suggests that these qualities in Rogers' work were in the mainstream of American nineteenth-century realism, with its emphasis on the normal, the optimistic, and the documentary, but he does not explore this relationship in any depth or with much discrimination. To link, as Wallace does, Rogers' realism with that of Eakins and Homer is to minimize the depth of those painters' grasp of reality and to distort the cul-

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tural picture. Eakins and Homer were not trivial, as Rogers frequently was; nor were Howells and Twain, who also are linked with the sculptor in a grand parade of names. The all-inclusive definition can produce some strange bedfellows. Although this is a minor point, a more careful and extended exploration of these relationships might have produced a more interesting and less repetitious book.

One can cavil also at Wallace's hesitant agreement with the judgment that the inexpensive groups "made American sculpture possible" by assuring its practitioners wide public respect and patronage. Such an exaggeration of an influence seems more eulogistic than accurate. Sculpture had come to be regarded in the United States as a respectable art form before Rogers' groups appeared, and his example of mass-producing three-dimensional miniatures for home decoration found few imitators, except perhaps Remington. The better and more successful sculptors of his generation and after—Ward, French, Saint-Gaudens, Barnard, and Bartlett—continued to give their attention to monumental sculpture or outdoor statuary in the earlier tradition. Wallace's failure to place Rogers in this perspective obscures the anomalous nature of his subject's efforts.

Within the limits he sets for himself, however, Wallace has written a well-researched book that may be useful to sociologists and historians interested in exploring the phenomenon of mass culture.

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee LILLIAN B. MILLER

JOHN P. HOLLAND, 1841–1914: INVENTOR OF THE MODERN SUBMARINE. By *Richard Knowles Morris*. (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1966. Pp. xviii, 211. $8.50.)

THIS perceptive biography of America's reknowned pioneer in submarine design represents a major contribution to what is often narrowly episodic literature on undersea navigation. Utilizing the papers of Holland and his close engineering associate, Charles A. Morris, the author has fashioned a disquieting account of the vicissitudes that beset men of inventive genius.

John Holland's hardscrabble rise, from parochial schoolteaching in his native Ireland to years of successful submarine engineering in New Jersey, is re-created in prose that retains the Spartan wit of the inventor's journals. Born amid stark reminders of the "levelling" movement, Holland tempered his early Anglophobia under the discipline of the Irish Christian Brothers, in whose schools he continued to teach following immigration to America in 1873. Untrained as a mechanical engineer but with a mind that roamed restlessly through history, navigation, astronomy, aerodynamics, hydrostatics, and music, "Professor Holland" somehow capitalized on his association with the Fenian movement to gain financial support for his "porpoising" submersible which was first embodied in *Holland No. 1,* launched at Paterson in 1878. In the trials, Morris concludes, Holland "demonstrated the merits of maintaining a constant reserve of positive buoyance in conjunction with a low and fixed center of gravity," vital conditions for achieving the stability that Fulton had sought in his *Nautilus*. Undaunted by the inconstancy of Fenian backers or the surveillance of British agents, Holland systematically refined his design principles in the *Fenian Ram* (1881), the *Zalinski Boat* (1885), the steam-powered *Plunger* (1897), and the *Holland VI* (1897).

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Acceptance of the *Holland VI* as the navy's first commissioned submarine in 1900 marked the apogee of this tenacious inventor's career.

Morris has effectively related Holland's accomplishment to the work of such contemporaries as Bauer, Nordenfeldt, Drzewiecki, Goubet, and Lake, few of whom shared his vision of the high-sea submarine. For readers with the patience to collate a technical narrative assisted by an excellent selection of plans relegated to appendixes, Morris affords exceptional technological insights. Most revealing, however, is the author's account of how Holland's business associates "traded on his matchless genius," discarding him when naval officialdom rejected his dynamic hull forms in favor of lengthier hulls that ironically proved regressive in the evolution of the modern submarine.

Smithsonian Institution PHILIP K. LUNDEBERG

GROVER CLEVELAND. By *Rexford G. Tugwell.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1968. Pp. xviii, 298. $5.95.)

IN the poll conducted some years ago by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., Grover Cleveland was classified among the "near great" American Presidents, sharing the honor with John Adams, James Polk, and Theodore Roosevelt. In this new book, which is not a "full-scale biography" as claimed by the publisher, Rexford G. Tugwell makes it clear that he thinks Cleveland has been overrated. He contends that Cleveland's much-touted honesty and courage, while real enough, were not adequate to meet America's needs in the 1880's and 1890's and that he had little else to offer; stubborn virtue was all he had going for him. His honesty was like a crisp sea breeze making its way to a stagnant inland swamp, but it "was not a radical principle," and it did not save Cleveland from failure as President, in both domestic and foreign affairs and as party leader. He failed because he lacked imagination and was almost totally devoid of curiosity. A man of narrow education, he knew almost nothing of the world beyond Buffalo, New York, at the time he assumed the presidency.

We have known all this for some time, of course, the story having been related at length and more favorably by Robert McElroy and Allan Nevins, and briefly by Horace Merrill. Merrill's *Bourbon Leader: Grover Cleveland and the Democratic Party* (1957) is particularly suitable for comparison with this work. Merrill ends his story in 1897 without narrating the last eleven years of Cleveland's life, but his work is far superior in historical analysis, more complete in detail despite its brevity, more thoroughly researched, and still the best short account available.

Tugwell's book, briskly written, includes many testimonials to its author's belief in strong reformist government and, also, an interesting endorsement of *fin-de-siècle* imperialism. It is also excessively didactic, being laden with political maxims and conventional wisdom about presidential leadership. Some outdated historical interpretations are in evidence, involving such topics as Reconstruction and the causes of the Spanish-American War, and the work contains a few minor errors of fact. In both its interpretation of history and its political analysis, the book bears the mark of the 1930's and 1940's.

This is not to say that Tugwell has written a poor book; it is just that there

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is nothing new for scholars, and the general reader has been offered no good reason to forsake Merrill's better study.

American University ROBERT L. BEISNER

A PICTOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF THE OGLALA SIOUX. By *Helen H. Blish*. Introduction by *Mari Sandoz*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1967. Pp. xxii, 530. $17.95.)

THIS beautiful volume is the product of a collective labor of love extending over a period of more than eighty years. Amos Bad Heart Bull, cousin of Crazy Horse, arrived at the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation in 1881 at the age of twelve. Defying agency taboos, he sought out stories of the customs and deeds of his people, taught himself to draw, and learned to write the Dakota language. As a twenty-one-year-old Indian scout at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, he was persuaded by a storytelling uncle to compile a history of his nation. Amos purchased a ledger from a local merchant; in this ledger he made several hundred pencil-and-ink drawings, coloring them with crayons, ink, and pencil. The role of band historian, the use of drawings in calendric history, and the recording of individual exploits in pictorial form were traditional among the Oglala Sioux, but a full pictographic account of customs and events such as the one Amos compiled is unique, and the artist's conventions and techniques are largely original.

Amos Bad Heart Bull died in 1913. In 1926 Helen Blish, a student at the University of Nebraska, found his manuscript in the possession of Dollie Pretty Cloud, Amos' sister. Professor H. B. Alexander of the University of Nebraska procured grants from the Carnegie Foundation, for whom Blish wrote a report on the paintings. In 1938, Alexander published twenty hand-colored reproductions of the Bad Heart Bull drawings. He made and retained black-and-white photographs of the entire corpus. Now the University of Nebraska Press has published the black-and-white reproductions, together with thirty-four color plates and the text written for the drawings by Blish in the 1920's. Her introduction attempts to place the work of Bad Heart Bull in the context of Indian art and to analyze it from the historical, technical, and aesthetic points of view. Her very extensive and useful notes accompanying the prints rely heavily on Bad Heart Bull's original informants—his uncles, Short Bull and He Dog. In addition, she translates the author's own notes, written to accompany the drawings.

Bad Heart Bull's favorite theme is warfare; several drawings deal with the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the Ghost Dance War, and the Wounded Knee Massacre. Most of the themes (151) concern encounters between Sioux and Crow. The individual subjects on whom he lavishes greatest attention are horses and costumes. Perhaps his favorite topic is a profile view of the mounted warrior in full regalia. But warfare is by no means the exclusive theme. The paraphernalia of warrior and honor societies, ceremonials, courting scenes, games, methods of tanning hides, and Indian and cowboy scenes of the reservation period are all preserved.

The only major frustration confronting the reader is the contrast between the black-and-white originals and the colored versions of thirty-two of the drawings included at the front of the volume. Since the text refers frequently to the artist's

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use of colors, the frustration is compounded. Unfortunately, the originals were buried with Mrs. Pretty Cloud in 1947.

Ohio State University MARY YOUNG

THE PENDERGAST MACHINE. By *Lyle W. Dorsett.* [The Urban Life in America Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 163. $6.00.)

THIS slender volume traces the life cycle of the Democratic machine that grew to dominance in Kansas City and Missouri politics during the half century between 1890 and 1940. Its founder was Jim Pendergast who, the author tells us, "became a ward boss in the classical tradition by providing welfare services to his underprivileged Negro, Italian, and Irish constituents" in the dingy working-class sections of town. After Jim died in 1911 his younger brother Tom assumed command, and by broadening its range of "services" to include other population elements, the organization gradually extended its control to embrace the whole of Kansas City and adjoining Jackson County. When the Great Depression spawned the New Deal, the machine's dominant position in Missouri's Democratic party made it the natural conduit for the transmission of federal largess to the people of that state.

Joining the ranks of revisionists who question the validity of "The Last Hurrah" thesis, which holds that New Deal welfare statism hastened the demise of the boss system as a feature of American politics, Dorsett contends that the New Deal actually strengthened the Pendergast machine's grip. Pendergast's personal venality, coupled with a particularly glaring vote fraud scandal—and not the incursions of federal welfare statism—account for the organization's precipitate downfall between 1936 and 1940, the author maintains. By the beginning of 1940 the "Boss" himself was in prison on tax evasion charges, and a Citizens' Reform ticket won the municipal election later that year. Thereafter, the organization's remnants disintegrated. Dorsett necessarily enters into considerable local detail concerning the political maneuverings whereby the Pendergasts built and then lost their power, but the author's taut prose style paces his story well and sustains interest. This same terse brevity, on the other hand, may also account for the sense of incompleteness that some readers will experience upon finishing Dorsett's book. Several inviting avenues that his researches revealed are left relatively unexplored. Although we are told, for example, that the Pendergast machine was built in the "classical tradition," the author also indicates that "foreign-born voters never numbered much over 6 per cent of the population" of Kansas City. How, then, does the Pendergast machine measure up against the stereotype of the "typical" urban machine, which is commonly described as an outgrowth of the particular needs and political style of the immigrant workers who crowded into America's cities in the late nineteenth century? Dorsett's material suggests either that the Kansas City machine was really an atypical one, not molded after the "classical" model, or, more significantly, that the stereotype of the supposedly immigrant-oriented "typical" machine is not consistent with the facts. Dorsett touches upon interesting questions of this sort, but only obliquely. One wishes he might have permitted himself greater freedom to consider their

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ramifications more explicitly. Perhaps he will do so in a later volume. With this illuminating, if somewhat constricted, study of the Pendergast organization, he is off to a good start in that direction.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick J. Joseph Huthmacher

WINTHROP MURRAY CRANE: A STUDY IN REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP, 1892–1920. By *Carolyn W. Johnson.* [Smith College, The Edwin H. Land Prize Essays.] (Northampton, Mass.: Smith College. 1967. Pp. ix, 100. $2.00.)

For every Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, or Franklin D. Roosevelt who self-consciously bequeathed to historians massive collections of their public and private files, there are surely dozens of Winthrop Murray Cranes—influential public figures who studiously avoided leaving a written record of any kind. The historian would do well to consider how differently history would appear were there some way to learn such men's stories.

Murray Crane was an immensely important but taciturn Yankee businessman with interests that ranged from the family paper mills (until about 1964, they exclusively made the silk thread paper for the national currency and Treasury bonds) to Otis Elevator and AT&T. He was also one of the most powerful Republican leaders in the country for at least one and possibly two decades. How many students of US history, who know well Crane's articulate colleague, the elder Henry Cabot Lodge, have ever heard of him? Crane, more than any other individual, arranged the break in the coal strike deadlock of 1902—a task President Roosevelt, on knowing advice, chose him to perform. He was only governor of Massachusetts at the time. Though a senator from 1904 to 1913, Crane never made a speech nor introduced a bill, yet the letters and memoirs of his more chatty cohorts argue strongly that he was one of the top three or four most important members in the Senate. There are hints in TR's papers that it was Crane who, probably with sly intent, persuaded Roosevelt to make his self-defeating abnegation of a third term shortly after his election to his one full term in 1904 after Lodge and other confidants had advised the President against such a statement. Resigning from the Senate in 1912 for personal reasons, Crane continued to represent a potent force in Republican politics, including nurturing the career of one Calvin Coolidge. At the end, behind the scenes as usual, Crane made a heroic fight within the party to save the League of Nations from the insidious work of his never-cordial compatriot from Nahant, an act, incidentally, of considerable personal courage since it almost certainly shortened the fragile Crane's life.

We owe a debt, then, to Carolyn Johnson for this competent, freshly researched, and documented résumé of Crane's political career; her book will now serve as *the* general source. The only previous account, now about forty years old, was a pietistic presentation by Solomon Griffen, a Springfield editor and personal friend of Crane. Although there is not very much in this book that Griffen had not already mentioned, for the first time we have the right to feel confident about it. All the same, probably the better part of the Crane career is lost to history, buried with the bones of the reticent little Berkshire patriarch and with those of so many

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of his equally secretive confidants in the Old Guard. Now, let us get on with "The History of Progressive Era Politics"!

University of California, Berkeley RICHARD M. ABRAMS

THE DISCOVERY OF ABUNDANCE: SIMON N. PATTEN AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL THEORY. By *Daniel M. Fox.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1967. Pp. xiii, 259. $9.00.)

As President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal got under way, one of his leading brain trusters, R. G. Tugwell, proclaimed that the people and the government must realize that the nation had long passed from a "deficit" economy to a "surplus" economy. Properly organized, the surplus would lead to an abundant life for all. The terms "deficit" and "surplus" came from Tugwell's mentor, the eminent professor of economics at the University of Pennsylvania, Simon N. Patten, as Tugwell clearly showed in his 1923 essay, "Notes on the Life and Work of Simon Nelson Patten."

Now a young American historian has used the Tugwell thesis to organize a full-scale, well-researched study of Patten. In *The Discovery of Abundance,* Professor Fox points out the difficulty of reproducing "the complexity of Patten's economics in summary form." He has, therefore, left the detailed economic analysis to an earlier, competent dissertation, J. L. Boswell's *The Economics of Simon Nelson Patten* (1934). His own book is a biography of Patten and a comprehensive examination of Patten as a social theorist. This involved following Patten through 21 books and monographs and over 150 articles, as he boldly ventured into all the social sciences, biology, philosophy, psychology, and religion.

The findings that emerge from Fox's study are not novel, but he provides additional evidence for the conclusions of previous scholars. These results include: The German historical school had a deep influence on Patten in helping him to comprehend the complexity of human nature and to seek a middle-of-the-road policy between extreme laissez faire and Marxian socialism. More positively, Patten revived the interest in consumption as a basic field of economic theory, and he saw in its proper organization one of the most effective means toward a rising standard of living. As the contemporary British welfare economist John A. Hobson put it in 1916, among recent writers Patten made "the most important contributions towards a systematic treatment of the economics of consumption." Finally, Patten helped to formulate the philosophy of modern social work as something more than voluntary almsgiving and relief, and he spearheaded the establishment of social work as a profession.

The author does not ignore the "confusing arguments and muddy style," the "tortured ambiguity and contradiction" in Patten's important publications, but he does reveal Patten's sanguine belief in the social progress of the nation. *The Discovery of Abundance* should prove a fruitful mine of materials and suggestions for the growing interest in a neglected thinker.

Columbia University JOSEPH DORFMAN

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HOMER FOLKS: PIONEER IN SOCIAL WELFARE. By *Walter I. Trattner*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 355. $10.00.)

A MICHIGAN farm boy who went to Harvard for graduate study in modern languages, Folks became interested in social work and, in 1890, became executive of the Children's Aid Society of Philadelphia. He had no training for the task, but within a year he addressed the National Conference of Charities as an expert on childsaving. From 1893 to 1947 he was secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York; during these momentous decades he was a link between the host of private philanthropic groups and foundations concentrated in New York and the public social services that took form in that populous, problem-ridden, wealthy state. For a time he was in New York City politics, fighting for housing legislation and reorganizing the municipal charities, a major and successful job. His interest in children turned from foster home placement to juvenile courts and then to preventive legislation—child labor, widows' pensions, and maternal health. Other preventive measures—mental hygiene and especially public health—occupied his middle years. He was an executive of the Red Cross during the First World War, and after 1929 he helped shape state relief policies that Roosevelt and Hopkins made national.

Drawing on an unusually full public record, a collection of Folks's papers and memorabilia, other unpublished collections, and many interviews, Professor Trattner presents a detailed account of Folks's interests and contribution. He easily shows that Folks was a "pioneer" who early espoused causes and programs that became fundamental in contemporary social welfare and who shrewdly avoided the foolish dogmatism of so many instant experts in his generation. It is good to amplify this record, and the author's professional skills are evident by comparison with the volume by David Schneider and Albert Deutsch (1941) that covers many of the same topics, but his organizing idea is rather perfunctory. It adds factual detail to familiar developments rather than affording a new conceptual framework; its focus on programs leaves vague Folks's problems in adapting the Charities Aid Association to changing conditions of public interest and involvement. Perhaps, for example, his long tenure in office indicates that his role was a peculiar possibility of his historic situation, as well as a beacon of progress. The bibliographical essay is full and helpful.

University of California, Berkeley JAMES LEIBY

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF W.E.B. DU BOIS: A SOLILOQUY ON VIEWING MY LIFE FROM THE LAST DECADE OF ITS FIRST CENTURY. ([New York:] International Publishers. 1968. Pp. 448. $10.00.)

THIS work is an event in American historiography. It reflects a great career, including milestones of sociological and historical studies, as well as major achievements in Negro life and progress. The uses of this autobiography for history, however, must be carefully spelled out. So emotional an issue as that of race makes easy praise and acceptance an evasion of judgment, especially when that issue is transmitted through so sensitive and assertive a figure as Du Bois. But Du Bois was not only a Negro spokesman. He accepted the "line" and interpreta-

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tions of the Communists. How ought his musings to be viewed and utilized?

Du Bois felt keenly his own human wants, which he saw as reflecting the wants of Negroes as a people. He was throughout his career partial to their views of American history, as in his chapter "The Propaganda of History," in his *Black Reconstruction* (1935), which argued that Negroes had been maligned and Negro history falsified by standard historians. In the present "soliloquy," he expands his outlook to take in the entire world. Part I is a paean of praise to the Communist world, its derogation being reserved for "Western Europe," which received support for its reactionary programs from United States funds. Some 280 pages, then, survey Du Bois' life and opinions and provide a journey through such vital movements and concerns as Negro and white universities in the 1890's, the famous Niagara movement, and his work with *The Crisis* and the NAACP. An interesting chapter on "My Character" crystallizes many of his attitudes dispersed throughout. Part III follows Du Bois' course among radicals and adds up to a total indictment of American social and cultural life. There are useful notes and a selected bibliography by the editor.

But as one individual scholar might insist on controverting Du Bois' account of Reconstruction, so another might feel it necessary to qualify his views of Communism, and even of Negro perspectives. After all, Du Bois saw Russia and China as a distinguished friend and visitor; it was his fifteenth trip abroad. Many other distinguished Americans, white as well as black, have seen these matters differently. Incidentally, considering Du Bois' sense of having been ill-used, it may be noted that many of them were less accepted, less materially successful than Du Bois, from Thomas Paine and Henry D. Thoreau to Louis Sullivan, Randolph Bourne, and Arthur C. Townley. They were not inhibited by their color, but neither were they aided by it.

Du Bois' judgments, then, from his approval of John Brown to his approval of Hungarian Communism, are controversial and should be argued with established historical means. Over-all, his "soliloquy" plows deep into our social system and experiences and as such can be read and cited for penetration into the psychology of Negroes and their direct associates, as well as for what it tells us about a great American.

Antioch College LOUIS FILLER

SASS: FIFTY YEARS OF SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION. A HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL OF APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES, CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY. By *Thomas F. Campbell.* ([Cleveland:] Press of Case Western Reserve University. 1967. Pp. xiv, 131. $5.00.)

DEVELOPMENT in any profession is usually reflected in the history of any professional school. *SASS* is not only a lucid description of the intricacies and conflicts inherent in the development of the School of Applied Social Sciences at Western Reserve, but also, in many ways, it is a brief historical review of social welfare in the United States. Campbell's volume offers the reader an exciting adventure as he moves with social work from a task-related movement of the early 1900's to the complex institution it is today.

Born in the era of poverty, social work has undergone many changes in

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aims and emphases. We see these modifications in this book as social work shifted from its emphasis on social reform to its preoccupation with method. Western Reserve became wedded to the psychoanalytic movement in the 1920's and, like other schools of social work in recent years, attempted to incorporate the findings of the social sciences into its teaching and scholarly efforts.

SASS was the first graduate school of social work to be established within a university. Its history, well described by the author, portrays the inherent differences and views between those interested in the development of a professional school and those championing the norms of the academy. It was difficult for many of the administrators to understand why, for example, the SASS faculty spent so much of its time advising students, conferring with personnel of social agencies, and buttressing social work activities in the community while they neglected their own empirical research. The book dramatically illustrates the dialogue between the professional school and the university and among those on the faculty who resisted considering themselves primarily as educators rather than as practitioners.

Different deans with different orientations to social work are exposed, and their interaction with peers and colleagues is described with rich quotations. Each dean was pressed by financial problems that threatened the very existence of SASS, and it was only through courageous hard work by community social workers and supporters, together with the faculty, that the school was preserved. It has become an integral part of the university—two of its deans have become provosts at Western Reserve—and its financial basis has been strengthened. "By the 1960's when the society again turned its attention to the burgeoning problems of social welfare, the profession was ready; its base of knowledge had expanded to encompass the rapid growth of the social sciences; its method had been developed to include intervention in the community process, as well as individual and group processes; and the foundation had been laid for scientific inquiry within the profession. The School of Applied Social Sciences was ready to live up to its name."

Rutgers University, New Brunswick HERBERT S. STREAN

PETROLEUM PIPELINES AND PUBLIC POLICY, 1906–1959. By *Arthur M. Johnson*. [Harvard Studies in Business History, Number 24.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 555. $15.00.)

PROFESSOR Johnson has written an appropriate supplement to his *Development of American Petroleum Pipelines, 1862–1906*. His is an exhaustive work, telling most readers considerably more about the subject than they would want to know. It is typical of its genre in that the author is committed to the view that the oil pipeline industry has been a beneficent force and that public policy for the most part has been ill-considered and inconsequential.

The point of inconsequentiality is well taken. Johnson makes it clear that the twentieth-century development of the pipeline industry has had very little to do with the activity of legislatures, courts, and regulatory bodies. Standard Oil dominated the industry at the beginning of the century, and early government action aimed primarily at that classic trust. But neither the regulatory flurries of

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the progressive years nor the more acquiescent tenor of the twenties really mattered very much. What change came to the industry was due to the opening up of vast new oil fields, the rise of a host of new companies—Gulf, Texas, Sun, Shell, Sinclair—to exploit these resources, and the enormous increase in demand spurred particularly by the automobile.

Public policy matters more after 1930, but not in any straightforward way. It served two masters: the major companies themselves, who successfully sought regulatory protection from the ogre of overproduction; and the old ideal of antitrust, seeking to separate pipelines from producers. As always, producers and distributors outside of the large integrated companies were the most important single force behind divestment attempts. Their success was minimal. The major constraint imposed upon the pipeline companies was a 1941 consent decree limiting the dividends that integrated oil companies could derive from their pipeline subsidiaries.

Again, government policy palls when compared with the impact of such external developments as World War II and the postwar economic boom. The industry has taken on a previously undreamed of vastness and efficiency of operation. One consequence is that the pipelines now are closer to being the common carriers that their critics wanted them to be. The old challenges to their structure of ownership, their price scales, and their mode of operation no longer have much legal or political force.

In retrospect, government pipeline policy has been one of restraint toward size, profits, and ownership. But the central fact of the industry's life in this century has been expansion both of scale and of technological proficiency. In such a clash there could be only one winner. For government no less than industry functions in a culture where the goal of productivity, for better or for worse, is the commanding one.

Brandeis University MORTON KELLER

CALIFORNIA'S PRODIGAL SONS: HIRAM JOHNSON AND THE PROGRESSIVES, 1911–1917. By *Spencer C. Olin, Jr.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 253. $6.95.)

California's Prodigal Sons is a modest, carefully documented, and closely reasoned account of progressives in power. Beginning with the mobilization of reformers in 1910, Spencer C. Olin, Jr., details the political techniques and policies of those dissident Republicans who captured their party, cooperated with Hiram Johnson to rationalize and extend state government, followed the hazardous course of Progressives after 1912, and finally re-entered the Republican party in 1916 to elect Johnson as senator while allowing presidential candidate Charles Evans Hughes to lose California. Almost a third of the study examines step by step how Hughes chose to align his early campaign in California with conservative Republicans and how the Progressives replied with indifferent support in the late, critical weeks. Johnson—shrewd, dedicated, prickly—dominates the book. It was he, not the earnest but inexperienced reformers, whose political skills won the battles, it was he whose decisions marked the route out of and back into the Republican party, and it was he whose anger with Hughes gave focus to the complicated feuds

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of 1916. Only the reform program itself, mixing portions of democratic theory, interest group legislation, and efficient administrative government, arose independent of Johnson from the various progressive factions in California and the experience of precursors in such states as Wisconsin and Iowa.

Within this framework, Olin is clear and judicious. He informs the reader about men and issues as they appear, he traces subsidiary stories without sacrificing his major themes, and he balances his evidence around each judgment. Beyond these limits his study becomes somewhat blurred. Was California progressivism a triumph of democracy over the interests or victory for a larger, discontented elite over a smaller, entrenched one? In order to understand the process of reform, should we distinguish between political popularity and legislative power? Did progressivism or a largely autonomous Johnson organization win in 1916? Olin appears in each instance to argue both sides of the case without relating the two. Perhaps such problems could not be resolved within the confines of this otherwise commendable monograph.

Northwestern University ROBERT WIEBE

YEARS OF TRANSITION: *THE DIAL,* 1912–1920. By *Nicholas Joost.* (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers. 1967. Pp. xxvii, 321. $8.50.)

THE subtitle of Nicholas Joost's study is somewhat deceptive, and this is a virtue. For Joost, while concerned primarily with the 1912–1920 period, also suggests the continuity of a shared tradition—from that organ and epitome of transcendentalism in the 1840's, the original *Dial,* to Moncure Conway's *Dial* of 1860, to the Chicago *Dial* of 1880. Each *Dial,* he makes clear, was marked by an elegance of style, high intelligence, and a concern for contemporary literature and thought. But none of the post-Civil War successors possessed the transcendentalists' passion for the rebirth of the individual and the reformation of society. Lacking the frequent note of romantic anarchism that characterized the original version, later issues of the *Dial* were guided by editors and writers who espoused a liberal politics but a conservative aesthetics. At the outset of World War I, for example, the pages of the *Dial* attacked the New Poetry, ignored Harriet Monroe, scolded Amy Lowell and the imagists. The mandarin elite who guided it also sought unsuccessfully to avoid the single, most obsessive concern of most of its readers—the war itself. This emphasis upon the genteel tradition, however, was never unanimous, and Randolph Bourne's highly publicized defection from the ranks of wartime liberals simply exacerbated existing divisions on the *Dial*'s editorial board.

The *Dial,* as Joost observes, changed with America's entry into hostilities. It became increasingly concerned with the war, and it gave considerable space, mostly for artistic and aesthetic contributions, to Bourne, especially after he and the *New Republic* parted company. Bourne is central to the *Dial* in this brief period, but the importance of Paul Rosenfeld and Van Wyck Brooks is not fully appreciated. Nor is Joel Spingarn's formulation of the New Criticism, long before Ransom and his disciples, assessed with the care it deserves.

My complaint goes deeper than such detail, however. What I miss in this study is a sense of scale: the important articles are not sufficiently distinguished from the more mediocre ones. The blurring effect of an academic study—the need

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to set down the name of every contributor and the title of every article—endows all the authors and all the events with a tiresome likeness. Only the conflict ("America's cultural Thirty Years' War") between the cautious *Dial* and its celebrated and more impetuous rival, Jane Heap's *Little Review,* gives us the unity and high excitement that one hopes to find in such a book. Granted that the *Dial* lacked the self-conscious sense of experimentation of the *Little Review,* the innovating and visionary spirit of *Poetry,* the irreverence and gaiety of the *Masses,* it nonetheless possessed a mature, buoyant, and confident air. After all, it occupied a central position, in the 1920's, if not earlier, in American literature and thought, and it was the accepted spokesman of the educated community.

Joost avoids the solecisms of Wasserstrom's earlier study, he carefully estimates Bourne's role, and he is at his best in outlining the contributions of and the tensions between James Sibley Watson and Scofield Thayer. The student of modern American intellectual history will be able to cull useful information and insights from this book. But the author has, if anything, worked too long in the columns of the *Dial;* he has been too conscientious. Had he stressed the major developments, maintained the overview, and restrained an obsessive desire to set down every detail, his study would have been fascinating and instructive, even for those whose interest is not narrowly devoted to the little magazine. But *Years of Transition,* in its present form, can absorb the attention only of a few specialists; for all others, the task of reading it requires nothing less than a Calvinist's adherence to duty.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst MILTON CANTOR

CONSTITUTIONAL POLITICS IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA: CHILD LABOR AND THE LAW. By *Stephen B. Wood.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 320. $10.00.)

THIS is a fine monographic study of the congressional and judicial history of the First and Second Child Labor Acts of 1916 and 1918. Its particular virtue lies not so much in any great originality as in the highly effective way in which the author combines an analysis of the social, economic, and political forces operating for and against child labor legislation with the legal and constitutional materials essential to a treatment of the two major Supreme Court decisions involved: *Hammer* v. *Dagenhart* (1918), and *Bailey* v. *Drexel Furniture Co.* (1922).

Stephen Wood, the author, writes in an atmosphere of carefully restrained but evident partisanship; he does not hesitate to render judgments for or against various members of his dramatis personae. Quiet heroes of his piece are Senator Albert Beveridge and the National Child Labor Committee, whose lengthy crusade, beginning in 1904, resulted finally in the passage of the Keating-Owen Act in 1916. The author's villains are more deeply dyed. Chief among them is David Clark, "a crusty conservative" and publisher of an obscure North Carolina textile manufacturer's journal, who mounted the principal legal attacks upon the constitutionality of both Child Labor Acts. The conduct of Judge James Edmund Boyd of the United States District Court for western North Carolina was hardly less deplorable in the author's eyes. Boyd openly connived with Clark to countenance a series of blatantly collusive suits instituted first against the Keating-Owen Act and then the Child Labor Tax Law. Also guilty of grave impropriety, in Wood's

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view, was James M. Beck, Harding's solicitor general, whose fine-drawn argument in the Bailey case seemed deliberately calculated to lose the government's case.

Wood raises two or three points of special interest both to constitutional and political historians. He differs sharply with Arthur Link's belief, expressed in his *The New Freedom,* that Wilson's eleventh-hour conversion to child labor legislation in 1916 was a strictly opportunistic "campaign expedient." He believes also that Alexander Bickel's contention that five justices as of 1921 were then ready to vote to uphold the tax law is hopelessly implausible in light of the Bailey vote the following year. Finally, Wood disagrees with Bickel's conclusion that Brandeis and Holmes privately differed with the majority opinion in the Bailey decision. Brandeis, in particular, he thinks, was too principled to have remained silent had he differed with the majority on such a fundamental question. Whether Wood is right or wrong on these points may be debatable, but there can be little doubt that his book will long remain the standard work on the two child labor laws.

Wayne State University ALFRED H. KELLY

REBELS OF THE WOODS: THE I.W.W. IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST. By *Robert L. Tyler.* (Eugene: University of Oregon Books. 1967. Pp. 230. $7.50.)

ROBERT L. Tyler has been writing about the IWW for more than a decade, and much that he has said in his articles is sprinkled through this book. His narrative explains the origin and folklore of the movement, its early free speech fights, and its almost unsubstantiated reputation for violence. Most of the book focuses on the great strikes—Everett and Centralia, for example—and the legal and illegal repressive measures used to break the union during and immediately after World War I. Tyler brings the story to the present and ends on a wistful note.

The author argues that "The transformation of an agrarian society by railroads, by large-scale enterprise, by urbanization, by new patterns of hired help and employer, fostered an anxious and violent conservatism and an equally desperate radicalism." The IWW, he feels, was only possible in a society of young transient laborers, emerging extractive industries (especially lumbering), and undeveloped social relationships between employers and employees. Established communities with homebound work forces and farming areas with family-type migrant labor were immune to the radical virus. Time and development, Tyler feels, as much as repression, did in the "Wobblies."

In several ways, the book is a disappointment. The author's viewpoint ruled out even a brief analysis of "Wobbly" ideology, and, as a result, the treatment of their decision-making process seems naïve. The chronology of the major strikes is confusing. Without a careful reading, causes appear to be effects. Moreover, unable to tell his story within the confines of the region, Tyler has been forced to pursue his migrant radicals to other parts of the nation to explain their policies and actions. Even more important, there is a lack of hard-core data. There are no statistics about membership in the region, not even estimates. Many "Wobblies" are said to be immigrants, but the reader is never told how many or their place of origin. The author makes good use of newspapers, standard accounts, and interviews, but the personality and style of "Wobbly" leadership in the Northwest

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remain undefined. Adding to my general disappointment was the lack not only of a bibliography but also of an index. Tyler's work, both literary and historical, is better than this book indicates.

Indiana University MARTIN RIDGE

AMERICANS AND THE SOVIET EXPERIMENT, 1917–1933. By *Peter G. Filene*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 389. $7.95.)

MUCH of the general material presented in this study is familiar; it has been treated in previous works by Schuman, Browder, Lasch, and Lovenstein. What is novel is Professor Filene's approach: an attempt to analyze American attitudes, as distinct from opinions, toward the Russian Revolution and the Soviet regime and to demonstrate that these attitudes reflected Americans' own values and self-perception. But the results are, on the whole, disappointing. The author reaches the rather self-evident conclusion that American reactions to the Soviet experiment were successively affected by our involvement in the war against Germany, by isolationism, by the era of prosperity, and by the depression. He also suggests that the intense emotionalism and ambivalence of American attitudes resulted from doubts concerning the validity of our own principles and beliefs, from a recognition that Soviet society in its social goals and in its industrialization projected values that were both very similar and very different from our own, and from a growing awareness that the Soviet system challenged and competed with the American way of life.

The organization and methodology of the book are not always clear. The effort to distinguish sharply between attitudes and opinions, supported by brief references to communications theory, is not always successful, and in several chapters the distinction is ignored entirely. Filene, moreover, deliberately excludes from consideration the attitudes of administration officials and policy makers, including Wilson and Roosevelt (though he makes an exception for Hoover), and he consciously eschews discussion of the effect of attitudes, or opinions, on official policy toward the Soviet Union, though this is clearly of great interest and significance for the issues of intervention, trade, and recognition. At times he examines the attitudes of such interest groups as business and labor, at other times those of individuals or of vaguely defined entities such as "liberals" and "radicals," excluding Communists. The result is often considerable duplication and confusion, although special treatment of the views of Henry Ford and of the American engineers and technicians who worked in the Soviet Union is perceptive and interesting.

The relationship between attitudes, opinion, and policy is indeed important, but how much fresher and more useful it would have been if Filene had studied a less well-known and even more significant period in Soviet-American relations, say, 1939–1945 or 1946–1953.

Indiana University JOHN M. THOMPSON

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THE POLITICS OF PROVINCIALISM: THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN TRANSITION, 1918–1932. By *David Burner*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. xiii, 293, viii. $6.95.)

DESPITE its limitations this book, when it appears as a paperback, should be a welcome addition to works on the 1920's available for assignment in American history courses. In it David Burner summarizes, and to some extent amplifies, the scholarship that has recently resuscitated the decade between the progressive era and the New Deal as one possessing very considerable significance of its own in the history of American politics. As is usual in such studies, the focus is on the Democratic party. The promising coalition pieced together by Woodrow Wilson in 1916 was dashed to bits in 1920 by the frustrations of the immediate postwar years. During the remainder of the decade the party was rent by a deep-rooted schism as its industrial, big city, boss-dominated, newer American wing wrestled with the agrarian, southern, and western old stock element for control of its destiny. The 1924 convention was the high point of the Democrats' internal bloodletting, and Smith's nomination in 1928 transferred the conflict to the national, interparty arena. Smith, while attracting unparalleled urban and newer American strength to the Democratic ticket, failed as a presidential candidate. But by 1932 Franklin Roosevelt, abetted by the catastrophe of the Great Depression, had managed to weld the warring Democratic factions into the nucleus of a triumphant coalition that was to dominate national politics for years to come. In relating these now-familiar developments, Burner includes material that highlights the internal organizational weaknesses of the Democratic party during its lean years and adumbrates Franklin Roosevelt's efforts to overcome those weaknesses. He also stresses the lack of forceful leadership and consistent direction among congressional Democrats during the 1920's, although I feel that additional research might have provided encouraging signs along this line for the Hoover administration years, which the author treats rather superficially.

But the touchstone of his narrative, to which Burner frequently returns and properly so, is the progressive urbanization of the Democratic party's electoral strength during the 1920's. This was the remarkable and pregnant trend of the postwar decade, and the author treats it adequately enough as a purely political phenomenon and in the statistical or quantitative sense. Yet it seems to me that he minimizes the profounder qualitative implications of this development. Even if Al Smith were as conservative in some ways as Burner insists, still the political coming of age of "his" people meant much as far as the nation's economic and social ideas and institutions were concerned. Burner seems, moreover, to underestimate the relevance of Smith and his followers to the embattled concepts of cultural liberalism during the 1920's. To equate the cultural "provincialism" of the newer American minorities of that decade with the cultural "provincialism" of the 100 per cent American nativists, as the author does, misses the point. (One might as well equate the "provincialism" of Negro militants today with the "provincialism of their white supremacist antagonists.) The urbanization of the Democratic party during the predepression decade portended far more for American society than a mere changeover in the normal political complexion of the electorate. It was to bring a vital reshaping of the nation's entire economic, social, and cul-

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tural framework. In this broader context Burner's book, an otherwise acceptable political narrative, is somewhat disappointing.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick J. Joseph Huthmacher

TOM RIVERS: REFLECTIONS ON A LIFE IN MEDICINE AND SCIENCE. An Oral History Memoir prepared by *Saul Benison*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1967. Pp. xxi, 682. $17.50.)

This book is difficult to review. It is essentially the oral memoir of Dr. Thomas Rivers (1888–1962), a pioneer in virus research, as recorded, organized, and edited by Saul Benison. It is full of new information about the growth of virology, the development of the Salk and Sabin vaccines, and the internal workings of the National Foundation. It delineates the very special role that Rivers played as an investigator and administrator in virus research in the United States, and it is supplemented by editorial notes, a helpful medical glossary, and an excellent bibliography.

But how is one to classify it or, more importantly, to use it? Benison, a trained historian, has clearly produced a new kind of historical document that is at once the memoir of an important scientific figure and the creation of a historian-interviewer who has framed all the questions and set the historical problems. It is not like the standard memoir; we are not certain how Rivers, unaided, might have approached the telling of his life's story. Nor is it like the usual biographical study; we do not know the assumptions and organizational principles that guided Benison in his work. We know only that Benison is interested in certain aspects of Rivers' life because of his ultimate purpose: to write a history of poliomyelitis and the National Foundation. Nor can we be certain whether all errors of fact and interpretation known to the historian-interviewer have been noted, for "such mistakes were often revealing of the man and his thought" and have been "footnoted passim." As Benison rightly points out, this memoir is "an account of some aspects of the recent history of American virology from a particular moment in time filtered by individual experience."

Rivers' life spanned the development of modern virology. Born in Georgia, educated at Emory and Johns Hopkins, he went to the Rockefeller Institute in 1922, where he rapidly acquired a national and international reputation for his pioneering work on a number of viral diseases. In 1938 he became chairman of the Virus Research Committee of the National Foundation and was intimately involved with the basic research programs of that important body. He worked closely with the giants of modern virology, including Enders, Rous, Salk, Sabin, Stokes, Olitsky, Bodian, and others. At a testimonial dinner given in 1962 and attended by one hundred distinguished microbiologists, including four Nobel laureates, Dr. John Enders wired: "We the members of the church salute the apostolic father."

I believe this book is a worthwhile and interesting experiment in the publication of oral history. Although I have reservations about the publisher's claim that it will "help to establish historiographical standards for the new and burgeoning

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field of oral history," I am impressed by Benison's bold approach and careful preparation for his task.

University of Cincinnati THOMAS N. BONNER

FRANKLIN RUZVEL'T—CHELOVEK I POLITIK [Franklin Roosevelt—Man and Politician]. By *N. N. Iakovlev*. (Moscow: "International Relations" Press. 1965. Pp. 479.)

IN several respects this is a noteworthy book. The study itself is a well-informed, lively, comprehensive, and dispassionate (within a Marxist-Leninist framework) biography of FDR. Written by one of the ablest and most productive younger Soviet specialists on recent American history and issued as a "scientific-popular" work in thirty thousand copies, it should appeal to a fairly wide circle of Soviet readers and should help to correct earlier Soviet distortions of this period of American history. It is important to note that this is the first full-length study of Roosevelt to appear in the Soviet Union. Despite, or perhaps because of, the reported popularity of FDR among the Soviet people before and especially during the war, little was written about Roosevelt, except in a propagandistic vein, during the Stalinist era and the years of rabid anti-Americanism.

Publication of this work, which was favorably reviewed in several Soviet journals, represents, therefore, a significant advance toward more mature and scholarly Soviet study of American history. It demonstrates that competent research and writing, even in such a sensitive field as this, can be undertaken in contemporary Russia, and it suggests that the growing emphasis in Soviet historiography on careful and reliable research may produce increasingly useful results for international scholarship.

Iakovlev does not attempt to oversimplify the issues connected with Roosevelt's character and policies. He reaches the obvious Marxist conclusions that FDR's liberalism resulted as much from the pressure of events as from genuine conviction and that Roosevelt was, in the last analysis, a defender of the capitalist system. Yet the author's judgments are generally restrained and seldom polemical, and his summary assessment of the New Deal is fair and balanced. Iakovlev must, of course, argue that FDR stayed out of the war as long as possible in the hope that the Soviet Union would be drawn into conflict with Japan and Germany, and he repeats the usual Soviet charges concerning the "second front," but neither issue is belabored. He carefully avoids the temptation to idealize Roosevelt as a believer in "peaceful coexistence," while defending him against the criticism that he "sold out" to the Soviet Union.

Though obviously well acquainted with Western literature on FDR, the author uses a few questionable sources, and he rather sketchily covers the last year of Roosevelt's life, when some of the most difficult and controversial issues in Soviet-American relations emerged. Nevertheless, this study possesses sufficient merit to raise cautious hopes for the future of Soviet scholarship on recent American history.

Indiana University JOHN M. THOMPSON

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ROOSEVELT AND FRANKFURTER: THEIR CORRESPONDENCE, 1928–1945. Annotated by *Max Freedman*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1967. Pp. xiv, 772. $17.50.)

In writing to Felix Frankfurter on November 21, 1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt observed that the justice's correspondence and papers would "give a far better picture of our day than mine because you, in your work, have had so much greater opportunity to analyze and suggest on paper, whereas I have been compelled to work, in great part, by word of mouth or through the medium of stodgy orders, proclamations and political speeches." Max Freedman's lengthy compilation of the letters exchanged between Roosevelt and Frankfurter from October 1928 to the President's death amply documents Roosevelt's observation: Frankfurter's letters to Roosevelt are considerably more numerous, much longer on the average, and generally far more revealing than the President's letters to Frankfurter. Although there are a few significant Roosevelt items in the book, many of the President's letters are simply thank-you notes sent in response to the laudatory letters that Frankfurter regularly dispatched to the chief executive.

Honoring Frankfurter's wish that his correspondence with the President be reproduced "in bulk," Freedman has included in this compilation many letters having little or no historical importance. He has also incorporated some items that Frankfurter forwarded to Roosevelt, regardless of whether or not the material is elsewhere available (the lengthy Louis Lyons interview with Joseph P. Kennedy, for example). The editor has provided extensive editorial notes before and after the letters he reproduced, but sometimes the significant point made in these notes depends less on the letters incorporated in this volume than on other material apparently available in the Frankfurter Papers. The editor's observations on Frankfurter's role in the Supreme Court fight (which Freedman regards as "Perhaps the biggest single revelation" in his book), in persuading the President to run for a third term, in the development of lend-lease, and in the evolution of a bipartisan foreign policy are thus only in part supported by the letters included here, and we shall have to await Freedman's promised biography of Frankfurter for a fuller explication of these matters.

The exact relationship of Frankfurter to Roosevelt and the New Deal is not fully revealed in the correspondence between the two men, but it is clear from the letters in this volume that Frankfurter brought people, ideas, and books to Roosevelt's attention, that he served the President as an adviser on appointments, legislation, and campaign strategy, that he helped with presidential speeches, and that he sometimes carried out research assignments for the President. The Freedman compilation also indicates Frankfurter's principal failing as a presidential adviser: there is not a word of criticism of Roosevelt in any of Frankfurter's letters to the President.

Historians of the Roosevelt era will find much that is of interest in this volume: information on the efforts of Roosevelt and Frankfurter to improve British and French press treatment of United States affairs, the Roosevelt-Keynes conference of June 1934, the Supreme Court fight, Frankfurter's role as an intermediary between Niels Bohr and the President, Frankfurter's efforts to secure a Supreme Court appointment for Learned Hand, and many other matters. Finally, it

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will perhaps comfort members of the American Historical Association to learn that Roosevelt regarded the organization as "on the whole, a pretty decent and useful body."

University of Michigan SIDNEY FINE

THE FEDERAL THEATRE, 1935–1939: PLAYS, RELIEF, AND POLITICS. By *Jane DeHart Mathews*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 342. $8.50.)

"The brief story of the Federal Theatre," writes Mrs. Mathews, concluding her soberly documented book, "was as dramatic as any play it staged." In fact her absorbing account of that history depicts not only an epic drama but an epic tragedy.

As part of the New Deal's Works Progress Administration, the Federal Theater was inaugurated in 1935 by WPA administrator Harry Hopkins with the promise that it was to be a "free, adult uncensored theatre." It perished four years later when the House of Representatives, by a "shouting, cheering majority" voted, 321 to 23, for its demise. In the years between, its director, small, dynamic, and idealistic Hallie Flanagan, gave emergency relief work to 13,000 unemployed stage people while making progress toward her goal of "a true People's Theatre shaping the social and cultural pattern of the nation." Before it ended it was playing to a weekly audience of 350,000 in almost thirty states and was responsible not only for bringing live theater to millions of Americans who had never before encountered it, but for the staging of plays, including those of the Living Newspaper, which earned the acclaim of hard-boiled professional drama critics.

With great courage Flanagan stuck by her ideals and her responsibilities while her original helpers, one by one, dropped away in despair. The Federal Theater, as Mathews makes clear, was the most vulnerable of the New Deal institutions. Since it functioned as a relief agency while trying to achieve theater of a high standard, it was an anomaly from the beginning. Snarled in bureaucratic red tape and censorship, it found mass support in the country's largest cities, especially New York, but not in the nation as a whole; it faced opposition from know-nothing politicians, the jealousy of the commercial theater interests, the ambivalence of the stage unions, and political pressures of Left and Right within its own ranks.

With the American economy stabilized by the heroic measures of Roosevelt's New Deal, the way was open for a counterattack on his policies. The Federal Theater made an excellent target. With Martin Dies as chairman, and ably supported by J. Parnell Thomas, the House Un-American Activities Committee, with a fervor not too troubled by facts, put on a performance of its own that brought sensationalist headlines in the nation's press. Until it was too late, Flanagan was ordered by her superiors to make no reply while innuendo gave the impression that the Federal Theater and its director, if not actually in the pay of Moscow, were at least the willing native agents of subversion.

To quote Mathews once more: the Federal Theater "serves as precedent, inspiration and warning to those who continue to look to government subsidy for support of the decentralized repertory which this nation still lacks." Whether as

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an event in American stage history or as a vivid side light on the era of the New Deal, the Federal Theater will not be forgotten.

Southern Illinois University MORDECAI GORELIK

WHILE SIX MILLION DIED: A CHRONICLE OF AMERICAN APATHY. By *Arthur D. Morse*. (New York: Random House. 1968. Pp. 420. $6.95.)

THIS book provides a general indictment of the generation of Americans who watched with hands folded while Hitler murdered some six million Jews who fell into his hands as his armies lunged eastward. In the best tradition of muckraking, Mr. Morse sifted a mountain of evidence, written and oral, to formulate an impressive bill of particulars. He singles out for special censure Assistant Secretary of State Breckingridge Long, who headed both the visa division in charge of aliens entering the country and the special division that supervised the transmission of United States funds overseas.

The State Department learned in August 1942 that Hitler was about to implement his "final solution" of the Jewish problem. This information came from one Gerhart Riegner, who had been alerted by an unimpeachable German source. Though the report bore every earmark of authenticity, the State Department dawdled for seventeen months, and Washington was galvanized into action only when Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., laid his case directly before the President. FDR then established the War Refugee Board which, with the cooperation of certain European bodies, rescued a number of dependent persons (DP's).

Morse argues very persuasively that more expeditious American action might have saved many more. He analyzes the options presented to Washington by Jewish leaders and demonstrates that these schemes were, until the eleventh hour, rejected by the Allies. The book speculates cogently upon the reasons for Roosevelt's and Churchill's hesitancy. The author might have added that, despite reports flooding the air waves from Europe, the human mind was unable fully to comprehend the magnitude of Hitler's genocide, for its very *Schrecklichkeit* challenged the testimony of the senses. Having been taken in, a generation before, by exaggerated atrocity stories stemming from occupied Belgium, Americans did not want to prove gullible once more. FDR's vaunted humanitarianism is, nonetheless, seriously questioned in these pages for the President might, in many ways suggested to him, have mitigated the terror. But, instead of arousing the country to action in the face of an unprecedented threat to human life, Roosevelt acquiesced in the apathy of the multitude.

Morse has organized his material skillfully, and the sense of immediacy that he conveys to his readers reflects the handiwork of an accomplished journalist. His findings rest upon an untiring search of archives located on three continents. Many hitherto undisclosed facts are revealed here for the first time. The only serious drawback to the book is its unconventional system of documentation that at times makes it difficult to go behind the author's returns.

State University of New York, Buffalo SELIG ADLER

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DRAFTED OR DEFERRED: PRACTICES PAST AND PRESENT. By *Albert A. Blum*. ([Ann Arbor:] Bureau of Industrial Relations, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Michigan. 1967. Pp. 249. $6.00.)

THIS is a good book. Some purists might object to the breezy headings and journalistic style, and footnotes at the end of each chapter and the lack of an index reduce its value for easy reference. Yet this well-written history of the draft during World War II is scholarly and based on a thorough exploration of available sources.

Drafting men for military service is a controversial subject. But Professor Blum makes clear that the draft does not make policy. It neither causes war nor justifies war. When war disappears, the draft will disappear. But until such a peaceful time, the draft is an instrument for raising armies. *Drafted or Deferred* is the story of how this instrument was used to provide men for the armed forces during World War II.

The key words are "selective service." Ideally men are "selected" according to the way they can best "serve." This ideal is, however, subject to varying interpretations and influenced by political, economic, and moral factors. Should the draft be used to punish men for lack of patriotism or to force them into essential occupations? Was it more important to preserve family life by deferring fathers rather than single men in war work? Why was the farm safer than the factory for young men trying to avoid military service? Did the preservation of educational institutions and potential contributions to the postwar world call for deferments for certain college and professional students? *Drafted or Deferred* describes these and many other problems of selection in World War II and shows that, with the intensification of the war, the basic guideline became the direct contribution of each individual to the war effort.

In his last chapter Blum tries to apply the lessons of history to selective service today. He suggests that many men now deferred for physical and intellectual reasons should be drafted. At the same time, deferments should be liberalized to include social as well as military goals. After deferments in the public interest, there are still more men eligible than are needed by the armed forces. A lottery among eligibles should select those who are actually drafted. Along with better primary and secondary education and free colleges this procedure would remove the inequities caused by poverty and ignorance and end the special protection of those with money and ability to continue their education. Blum's thoughtful idealism is praiseworthy, but his implied premise, that genuine equality of opportunity will bring equality of results, has not been proven.

Department of Labor JONATHAN GROSSMAN

THE MAKING OF A PUBLISHER: A LIFE IN THE 20TH CENTURY BOOK REVOLUTION. By *Victor Weybright*. (New York: Reynal and Company. 1967. Pp. viii, 360. $6.75.)

VICTOR Weybright, the publisher who gave Mickey Spillane to America, spent two years in his youth as a Hull House resident. It is the discovery of such

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piquant facts that inspires the intellectual historian to press on, but such rewarding nuggets are unfortunately rare in Weybright's autobiography.

After Hull House and the University of Chicago, Weybright entered the Manhattan magazine world, for a time editing Paul Kellogg's *Survey*. While in London with the US Office of War Information during World War II, he met the publisher Allen Lane, who, in 1945, placed him in charge of the struggling New York branch of Penguin Books, Ltd. In 1947 he left Penguin to join in founding the New American Library of World Literature, Inc., of which he was board chairman and editor in chief. NAL, with its familiar "Mentor" and "Signet" series, contributed mightily to the postwar paperback boom, as Weybright amply demonstrates in recounting what he modestly calls "my valiant efforts to help bring about the Book Revolution."

The emotional level of *The Making of a Publisher* rises sharply near the end, as Weybright describes the acquisition of NAL by the Times Mirror Company in 1960, the intense corporate and personal conflicts that ensued, and his own unhappy departure in 1966. Clearly Weybright was deeply affected by these traumatic events, and he tells them in a tone so angry and embittered that the reader can feel only sadness as the distressing account unfolds. The paperback explosion and the corporate mergers now transforming the book publishing world are of keen interest and concern to cultural historians, but this book contributes disappointingly little to our understanding of such matters. Weybright's observations are occasionally shrewd (Norman Chandler reminds him of "Cary Grant playing the part of a duke"), but too often the overriding impulse of self-justification colors his perceptions.

It is curious to find the erstwhile publisher of Spillane, Ian Fleming, Harold Robbins, and numerous lesser purveyors of sex and violence condemning the "flagrant decadence" of modern society. And one inevitably feels a certain skepticism about sweeping renunciations of American business values, which come only after an unlucky turn of the corporate roulette wheel has disrupted a career hitherto wholly devoted (by Weybright's own evidence) to the grim pursuit of business success. Weybright's concluding assurances that he is utilizing his unsought leisure to "ponder some of the verities of human experience" are reminiscent of Theodore Dreiser's effort in *The Stoic* to transform the financier Frank Cowperwood into a model of transcendental meditation.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst PAUL S. BOYER

VICTORY AT HIGH TIDE: THE INCHON–SEOUL CAMPAIGN. By *Robert Debs Heinl, Jr.* [Great Battles of History.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1968. Pp. xvii, 315. $8.95.)

THE dramatic marine landings at Inchon and the subsequent drive on Seoul in September 1950 were military highlights of the Korean War, but much of their luster was lost when the later entry of the Chinese Communists into the war turned the victory into bitter ashes. To re-create and restore the glory of the marine triumphs is the objective of retired marine Colonel Heinl's lively and well-written volume.

Starting with the lowly status of the US Marine Corps in the pre-Korean pe-

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riod, he goes on to show the frantic efforts to expand the corps and to fill the units committed in the early days of the conflict. As one of General Douglas MacArthur's admirers, he staunchly supports the general in his debates with the Joint Chiefs of Staff over the hazardous Inchon operation. To Heinl, the success of the landings confirms MacArthur's military genius and demonstrates the timidity and mediocrity of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Once the fight at Inchon gets under way, the author enters his own element. Using good sketch maps to follow the action, he brings to life the heroism, the humor, and the heartbreak of the marine battles during the assault and the push to take Seoul. His interviews with many of the participants are skillfully blended with the official records.

If the Inchon-Seoul campaign had been solely a marine operation, Heinl might have produced an outstanding book. Unfortunately for him, others were involved, and herein lies the major weakness of the volume. In his zeal to claim full credit for marine exploits, he has overshot the mark. The contributions of the army's Seventh Division are covered in only a cursory fashion that is often condescending. Certainly the marine corps has no need to build up its reputation by belittling its fellow services; its record speaks for itself.

Even more reprehensible, Heinl tends to color the roles of the chief protagonists in the drama according to their attitudes toward the marine corps. Not the North Koreans, but President Truman, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Major General Edward Almond, commander of the Tenth Corps under whom the marines served during the Seoul offensive, emerge as the principal villains in the work. The vendetta against Almond is carried to such an extreme that one wonders whether Almond's rejection of a marine commission as a youth in favor of the army might not be at least partially responsible for the obvious hostility. On the other hand, the portrayal of the marine and navy commanders, and of MacArthur, who held the marines in high esteem, is almost uniformly complimentary. Such black-and-white characterizations make a good story, but less than good history.

Despite these shortcomings, however, this re-creation of an important and exciting battle of the Korean War remains an inspiring and fascinating account of men in combat.

Department of the Army WALTER G. HERMES

CRISIS IN PRINT: DESEGREGATION AND THE PRESS IN TENNESSEE. By *Hugh Davis Graham*. ([Nashville, Tenn.:] Vanderbilt University Press. 1967. Pp. viii, 338. $7.50.)

FROM the Brown decision in 1954 through the 1964 presidential election—the time span of this excellent volume—attempted integration below the Mason-Dixon line engendered inflammatory reaction. This was not surprising, for, according to the author, segregation, "if not the *only* key to Southern cohesiveness," is so central to southern white ideology that attempted modification would inevitably evoke an unfavorable response. Professor Graham has endeavored to evaluate that response in Tennessee and to determine, through a close scrutiny of editorials from most of the state's daily and weekly white newspapers, to what extent this news medium molded public opinion.

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His task is formidable and challenging. Graham maps out the state geographically and politically as: partially "Deep South," bordering on Mississippi and Arkansas in the Memphis area; "Border State," along the North Carolina and Virginia boundaries; and "Piedmont," in the center, dividing these two areas. In agreement with the earlier encyclopedic *Southern Politics,* by V. O. Key, Jr., he finds that, as a rule, the farther south and west one ventures into this traditionally Democratic state, the more controversial the politics of race becomes.

A reporter himself for a brief time on the "moderate" Nashville *Tennessean,* Graham combines wit and scholarship with journalistic ability in relating national and regional issues to events within Tennessee, the major strength of his work. For example, after President Eisenhower ordered federal troops into neighboring Little Rock, Arkansas, during the school integration struggle, many Tennesseans reacted as did the Nashville *Banner* in describing the federal incursion as "Appomattox, 1957 Style." It remained, therefore, for the more stabilizing influence of papers such as the *Tennessean* to report that Governor Orville E. Faubus and his kind, by defying a federal injunction, had embarked on a "reckless and defeatist course." The author also effectively describes the manner whereby men such as Senator Estes Kefauver and Governor Frank G. Clement, aspiring for higher political office, "tightroped" on these issues.

Graham's evidence supports the widely held assumption that Tennessee is a racially moderate state. Despite sporadic flare-ups like that in Clinton in 1956, it did not suffer the violence of the lower South; nor did it succumb to the impossible massive resistance of a hitherto temperate Virginia. By 1963 newspapers had accepted almost unanimously the inevitability of integration, in prudence if not in conscience. The extent to which the press influenced Tennessee's citizenry cannot be accurately measured, but it clearly fulfilled a key role in maintaining racial sanity during a crucial decade.

A chapter on the Negro press, mainly a comparison of two Memphis newspapers, is included, but seems to be an afterthought. This criticism, however, is slight and does not detract from the over-all merit of the book.

Boston College ANDREW BUNI

LORD ROSEBERY'S NORTH AMERICAN JOURNAL—1873. Edited by *A. R. C. Grant* with *Caroline Combe.* Foreword by *Roger Fulford.* ([Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1967. Pp. 191. $5.75.)

WHEN Lord Rosebery was twenty-six years old, he toured the United States and Canada for ten weeks. He was observant, and, unlike those smug Victorian travelers who were all too ready to denigrate what they saw in North America, Rosebery was eminently fair in his comments. While in America Rosebery enjoyed the friendship of such diverse personalities as the Rabelaisian fixer, Sam Ward, and the suave editor, William Hurlbert.

Rosebery reached New York soon after the Black Friday crash rocked the American financial world and less than a month before the *Virginius* affair threatened to precipitate war with Spain. He took little notice of these crises, however. He was far more interested in the way of life he encountered. From New York Rosebery journeyed across the United States to see the Mormon theocracy in

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Utah. He reveled in the "illimitable" hospitality of Americans, but this did not prevent him from commenting on the "hard dreary look" of American tycoons or from speculating on how the operation of the courts revealed "the absolute submission to recognized authority" that seemed to "socially . . . distinguish Americans." Canada seemed rather colorless and far less interesting than Boston, where he enjoyed the company of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Charles Sumner, and Longfellow. New York provided the less satisfying experience of meeting the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher ("a buffoon without the merits of a buffoon") and the edifying example of magistrates dealing with juvenile first offenders in the spirit of improvement rather than of punishment. Rosebery found Washington congenial, but he was startled by what he saw at West Point. "I cannot imagine any place in the world," wrote Rosebery, "where the principle of authority exists more completely than in Westpoint [*sic*]. . . ." Nor did he fail to notice that although there were two Negro cadets at West Point, they were effectively "sent to Coventry" by their classmates.

The value of Rosebery's journal lies not only in the fact that it presents a candid view of the United States and Canada in 1873; it also contributes to a better understanding of the enigmatic Rosebery during his formative years. An attractive format and useful biographical notes make the book good reading.

Georgia State College, Atlanta JOSEPH O. BAYLEN

PROTESTANT CHURCH COLLEGES IN CANADA: A HISTORY. By *D. C. Masters*. [Studies in the History of Higher Education in Canada, Number 4.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 225. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR Masters' work is one of three projected studies on church colleges. This, in turn, is part of a series of studies in the history of higher education in Canada.

The book quite carefully sketches nearly two centuries of Protestant thought and controversy as reflected in the creation, the development, and sometimes the demise of church-related liberal arts colleges and denominational theological seminaries. Theological changes, financial dilemmas, and secularizing influences are considered in Masters' portrayal of the history of the Protestant institutions that made significant contributions to Canadian higher education. One after another, the church colleges became nondenominational universities or affiliates of nondenominational universities. There are now only four completely independent Protestant universities in Canada.

Masters outlines the gradual transition in thought from conservative (evangelical) Protestantism to liberalism, neo-orthodoxy, and existentialism. The result of the transition in doctrinal thinking was an increasing gap between the theological faculty and the rest of the church college. The church college, concludes Masters, ceased to represent a corpus of thought and became an intellectual mélange, an epitome of the university world in Canada as a whole. The large university and the small college alike are devoid of a single, unifying philosophy; both are essentially pluralistic.

Masters has done a commendable job of synthesizing the histories of about twenty colleges, utilizing an impressive list of monographs, articles, and pam-

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phlets and some unpublished materials relating to particular colleges. The chief value of the study is its successful synthesis of the historical features common to all of these colleges.

The book, of particular interest to those involved in the history of education and to American scholars who teach in church-related institutions that have experienced, or are experiencing, the impact of similar trends, is carefully organized and well written. A table or two early in the book to indicate basic historical data on each of the colleges would have aided the general reader in following the threads of the narrative. Such a table, showing the ultimate status of the institutions, does appear in the concluding section.

Financial difficulties, changing currents in theology, and administrative-faculty personalities are considered as important influences in the changing character of the Protestant colleges. One wonders if the role of students has been adequately considered by Masters or by the historians of individual colleges that he has used.

Although the reader might ask for more extensive elaboration at several points in this study, the author succeeds in presenting the main lines of development in the history of the Protestant colleges. One may anticipate the two succeeding volumes of the series that will deal with the English Catholic colleges and the French Catholic colleges.

Bethel College, St. Paul, Minnesota ROY C. DALTON

CANADA'S FIRST BANK: A HISTORY OF THE BANK OF MONTREAL. In two volumes. By *Merrill Denison.* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1966; 1967. Pp. xix, 471; xiii, 453. $7.50 each.)

THESE volumes have no footnotes, but the work should be noticed. Although statements are not supported, the source from which the information was gathered can frequently be identified. For example, exact references to many newspaper files and letters seen by the author come out in the narrative. Many documents important in the history of the bank are also included.

Mr. Denison was permitted to use the bank's records and account books without reservation. Almost since its founding, officers of the bank have recorded the history of their institution in weekly installments. Other banks subsequently absorbed by the Bank of Montreal—the Bank of British North America, the Molsons Bank, and the Merchants Bank of Canada—compiled similar records. This material consisted of 108 folio volumes.

The volumes are illustrated by sixty-three contemporary paintings, drawings, and maps, many in color. Thirty-eight double-page copies of paintings, by Canadian artists commissioned for the work, add to its value. In view of the expensive printing involved, the price of the books is low.

Denison attempted to put the bank in its American and Canadian setting, which is justifiable since Americans subscribed about half of the original shares. Sometimes the setting appears to be more detailed than is necessary for understanding the bank's history. The author devotes several pages to the problems of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company. The amount of detail seems to be excessive, for, even if Simon McGillivray's bankruptcy did make for

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some difficult moments, the bank apparently suffered no serious loss. The chapter on the bank and the Canadian Pacific Railway, however, is better balanced, and the later chapters contain more solid banking history than the earlier ones. The story ends with the establishment of the Bank of Canada in 1934.

University of Western Ontario JAMES J. TALMAN

LES MÉMOIRES DU SÉNATEUR RAOUL DANDURAND (1861–1942). Edited by *Marcel Hamelin*. (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1967. Pp. xiv, 374. $6.75.)

MARCEL Hamelin of the University of Ottawa has edited the memoirs of Senator Dandurand. They are in the form of an intimate journal, for, as the editor informs us, they were meant for his grandchildren's edification rather than that of the public. The manuscript of the *Mémoires,* as well as other documentation, was given to the Public Archives of Canada by Dandurand's granddaughter. The strength and the weakness of the *Mémoires* reside in the fact that they are a personal and intimate journal as well as being of some interest to the political history of Canada.

Born on November 4, 1861, in Montreal, Dandurand belonged to what may be called the classical Canadian liberal tradition, which was somewhat anticlerical and somewhat Gallican. He was articled to the law office of Joseph Doutre, a well-known "rouge" politician and was admitted to the bar in 1893. Dandurand quickly became involved in political activity for the Liberal party.

Though he had never held an elective political office, he was named a senator in 1898 at the age of thirty-seven. Unlike some members of this august and venerable upper house, he remained politically active; this was just the beginning of his political career. He later served as a member of Liberal cabinets and represented Canada at the League of Nations.

The great interest of the volume lies in its ability to place us within the political milieu, both provincial and federal, through the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Dandurand was a Liberal in the Laurier tradition, that is, the Gladstone tradition. He was involved in the death throes of the Catholic Church's overt interference in Canadian politics, and he played a role in language and education controversies in Canada. He represented an international force in French Canada as against the more usual provincialism of French-Canadian political figures.

The usefulness of the book is somewhat mitigated by the fact that it was written for purposes of edification rather than as a revealing memoir. It is unfortunate that no use was made of many documents concerning Dandurand that are to be found in the *Centre de Documentation de Littérature canadienne-française,* at the University of Montreal. Notwithstanding its somewhat limited use, the editor and the Presses de l'Université Laval have offered Canadian historians a useful book.

Sir George Williams University CAMERON NISH

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THE POLITICS OF SURVIVAL: THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF CANADA, 1939–1945. By *J. L. Granatstein*. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 231. $6.50.)

THIS history of the Conservative party in Canada during the Second World War draws upon a wide range of public and private papers and interviews, but adds little to the conventional picture of colossal ineptness and irresponsibility except an inside story of party organization (or disorganization) and financing. Reduced in 1935 to its lowest ebb, with only thirty-nine seats in the House of Commons after R. B. Bennett's bewildering conversion from archconservatism to state socialism, the party, which had attempted to give itself a new skin along with a new leader in 1938, succeeded in winning only forty seats in 1940. In 1945, after returning to its familiar principles of free enterprise and conscription, it won only sixty-seven seats after nearly splitting Canada apart over the conscription issue in the fall of 1944, when the war was virtually won and Canada had achieved a war effort beyond its strength in terms of manpower as well as supplies and munitions.

It would be difficult to quarrel with the first part of Professor Granatstein's conclusion: "The history of the Conservative party during the Second World War is one of almost unrelieved failure. Desperately weak in leadership, torn between adherence to principle and expediency, and wracked by internal conflicts, the party came perilously close to extinction." The record he reveals of repudiation of the chosen progressive leaders, Dr. Robert J. Manion and John Bracken, by the party's old guard, which controlled finance, is a sorry one, as is that of the suicidal determination to press the conscription issue at the cost of alienating Quebec again, in the face of the lessons of 1917–1918. But there is some comic relief in the picture of a party seemingly bent on self-destruction in an eyewitness account of the 1942 leadership convention: "Murdo [MacPherson] slouched in his chair like a weary hobo, while John [Diefenbaker] was so stiff and starched in his manner I could scarcely recognize him, and the wives were either crying or pulling hair off stage all the time the speeches were going on. . . . Poor Howard Green had such stage fright that suddenly in the midst of a sentence he let go the microphone, staggered backward, and fell in a faint, amid all the distinguished legs behind him. Dr. Bruce, rushing forward, tripped over a chair and fell flat on his face and had also to be picked up." Thus was the Progressive Conservative party born.

But it is harder to find evidence in this book, despite its inside account of the efforts of the "Port Hopefulls" to make state intervention respectable, to support the author's further conclusion that "Ironically, Conservatism survived as a viable force only because of the C.C.F., not through any inherent support of its own." Rather it was Mackenzie King's adoption of CCF social policies that enabled his government to survive the all-out Conservative onslaught in 1944 and 1945, and permitted the Liberals to continue in office until 1957, as the CCF's wartime strength faded.

University of Western Ontario MASON WADE

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THE INTER AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION: ITS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, 1926–1960. By *Mary A. Gardner.* [Latin American Monographs, Number 6. Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas.] (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute. 1967. Pp. xiii, 217. $5.00.)

THE subject of this monograph is a welcome change from the customary emphasis on diplomacy and economics in the history of inter-American relations. It systematically describes and evaluates what has been done by an independent, self-sufficient organization, the Inter American Press Association, to further freedom of the press and improve journalism in the Americas.

Founded in 1926, the IAPA got off to an inauspicious start by not having another meeting for sixteen years. After activity revived in 1942, however, it reflected the turbulence of the times. Meetings often were stormy affairs. At times Communists and various government agents tried to win control. Financial support usually was uncertain. Membership from the United States at first was small (bona fide publications and not journalists are official members, though the latter often are active representatives). After a reorganization in 1950 eliminated government sponsorship, however, certain energetic and dedicated American journalists, such as the late Jules DuBois of the Chicago *Tribune,* have played a prominent role.

The author has plodded diligently through the official IAPA records and interviewed an impressive number of Latin American as well as United States newsmen. Her emphasis, understandably, is on the IAPA's record in cases concerning freedom of the press. The best known of these, of course, is Perón's suppression of Gainza Paz's *La Prensa* in 1951, though other instances are also dealt with, involving especially Colombia, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. No doubt action taken by the IAPA had an effect, but it is difficult to estimate how much difference its pressure made, considering other forces at work. At times in the text the author is overeager to ascribe full credit to the IAPA; her over-all conclusion, however, is more guarded.

The IAPA has provided for its members a circulation auditing service and a technical center, and it has created a modest scholarship fund. It has published a useful study of newsprint sources and established the Mergenthaler Awards, given annually to outstanding Latin American journalists. The author draws a realistic balance sheet of IAPA's strengths and weaknesses as of 1960, and she makes useful recommendations for its improvement.

This competent and conscientious study, somewhat mechanically conceived and executed, is written in a serviceable style that is seldom felicitous. The organization leads to an undesirable repetition of subject matter. The book, nonetheless, effectively reminds students of inter-American affairs that private efforts of many kinds have done and can do much to shape the special relations that have existed for so long between the United States and Latin America.

Williams College RUSSELL H. BASTERT

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SOCIAL SCIENCE IN LATIN AMERICA: PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE ON LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES HELD AT RIO DE JANEIRO, MARCH 29–31, 1965. Edited by *Manuel Diégues Júnior* and *Bryce Wood*. [Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1967. Pp. xii, 335. $4.50.)

As the subtitle indicates, this volume contains ten papers prepared by distinguished Latin American scholars. They assess the present state of Latin American social science research in English translation. A slightly variant Portuguese-Spanish version was published in Rio (1967).

The conference was called primarily, if not exclusively, to elicit comment, criticism, and amplification of somewhat parallel essays by United States specialists, which grew from a six-week Seminar on Latin American Studies at Stanford University in 1963. These earlier essays were collected and published under the title *Social Science Research on Latin America,* edited by Charles Wagley (1964). Both conferences were sponsored by the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies under a continuing program to enlarge and improve research in the United States and in the area itself.

Bryce Wood indicates that this volume is as self-contained as possible. The papers are printed without additional comment or notes on discussions of them in Rio, except as noted in an introductory chapter by Diégues. It reflects a consensus among Latin American scholars that social science research is recent, has relatively shallow roots, has made some progress, and should be linked to directed social change, starting with university reform. These generalizations rest on the treatment of economics and economic research, political science, sociology, anthropology, law and legal institutions, as well as history.

Two papers deal directly with history. The well-known Mexican, Daniel Cosío Villlegas, writing on "History and the Social Sciences in Latin America," stresses the major contributions made by North American scholars, with amusing remarks on the tendency of that group to go through cyclical soul searchings and proclaim how little they seemingly have done; he suggests how Latin Americans might alter many of the research topics set forth as priority items. The second part of the Cosío Villegas paper concerns historical scholarship by Latin Americans; he believes that "the Latin American by far prefers inventing history to studying it" —amateurism versus professionalism—which he develops. He suggests that reformed historical studies be done by those involved in higher education in place of those by self-taught historians. There appears to be no necessary relation between advance in Latin American social sciences and improvement of historiography in Latin America.

José Honório Rodrigues, a distinguished historian of Brazil, deals with trends and research requirements in Brazilian historiography. He reiterates earlier charges that the writing of history in Brazil is "peculiarly antiquated and backward-looking" with research completely out of tune with modern Brazilian reality, contemporary social requirements, or current social appeals and problems. The second portion of his paper is a critique and enlargement of the paper on history pre-

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pared by Stanley Stein for the Stanford seminar, which appeared in the Wagley work.

The volume as a whole and these two essays in particular provide a useful bench mark and document some of the present intellectual ferment in Latin America. This is praiseworthy.

Library of Congress HOWARD F. CLINE

AMÉRICA COLONIAL: POBLACIÓN Y ECONOMIA. [Universidad Nacional del Litoral, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas. Anuario del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Number 8.] (Rosario: [the Instituto.] 1965. Pp. 384.)

THIS volume of the "Anuario" contains a number of contributions that should be called to the attention of historians interested in demographic history. Professor N. Sánchez Albornoz has provided a retrospective glance at the history of Argentine demography, suggestions for systematizing work in this field in the future, and an interesting inventory and classification of the nineteenth-century sources for population history of the province of Buenos Aires. It is particularly valuable in that it shows great possibilities for the study of the era preceding the national censuses. Several of his students illustrate the progress of this school, with detailed studies of Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Jujuy, Santa María (Catamarca), and Potosí, at various dates in the eighteenth century. These studies show that we have reached a point where generalizations based on guesswork on the structure of colonial populations in this area can be checked by data contained in these spot studies. J. L. Moreno's analysis of the population of Buenos Aires in 1778 is particularly enlightening.

No mention can be made here of all of the miscellaneous essays in this volume. It is worthy of note, however, that evidence of increasing communication among scholars in different countries concerned with colonial demographic, economic, and social history is accumulating. This is exemplified by the appearance here of essays by Chilean historians Rolando Mellafe and Alvaro Jara, the translation of an important study by David N. Cook on the population of colonial Peru, and the work of Argentine scholars. This volume indicates a most welcome broadening of the demographic studies of colonial Mexico during the past two decades.

Hyde Park, New York CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

THE HUMMINGBIRD AND THE HAWK: CONQUEST AND SOVEREIGNTY IN THE VALLEY OF MEXICO, 1503–1541. By *R. C. Padden.* ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1967. Pp. xvi, 319. $6.75.)

THIS exceptional work is the first serious revisionary study of the Mexican conquest in many years. The "hawk" of its title is Cortes, the leader of the Spanish army. Its "hummingbird" is Huitzilopochtli, the principal Aztec deity. The drama of conquest is worked out through the confrontation of these two protagonists. Cortes regarded Huitzilopochtli as the devil, the enemy of a Christian sovereignty. On the Indian side, Huitzilopochtli had gained strength through the period of Aztec expansion, demanding an ever larger number of sacrificial vic-

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tims and emerging as the embodiment of the Aztec imperial idea. But Huitzilopochtli was particularly the creation of the *pipiltin,* the Aztec nobility, who used him to reinforce their own regime of terror. Thus, for both conqueror and conquered, sovereignty took on a religious meaning. Cortes' perception of Huitzilopochtli's role had a determining effect on Spanish strategy. The decision to march to Cholula, where Cortes caught Montezuma's forces off guard and conducted a famous slaughter, appears as the consequence of Cholula's position as "the first locus of Huitzilopochtli cult" that the Spaniards encountered. Indians recognized that the Spaniards were mortal beings, but treated them as if they were gods because Montezuma ordered this. After their defeat, the Indian masses embraced Christianity less for what it offered than as an escape from their former religion, while a tendency of the *pipiltin* was to conceal the idols and perpetuate the worship of Huitzilopochtli.

In short, a complex but essentially unifying theme is suggested in explanation of the period 1503–1541 in Mexican history. The abundant details, both great and sordid, of these years are assigned fresh meanings and presented in a rich prose style. More than most students, Padden uses Indian records of conquest and sources that stress continuity. Is the result really accurate on relations between *pipiltin* and lower classes? Does it read too much into the evidence? Does it concentrate too heavily on Huitzilopochtli at the expense of other deities in the Aztec pantheon? These questions are more easily posed than answered, but let it be emphasized that they arise in response to a unique and significant new interpretation.

University of Michigan CHARLES GIBSON

CHURCH WEALTH IN MEXICO: A STUDY OF THE 'JUZGADO DE CAPELLANIAS' IN THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF MEXICO 1800–1856 By *Michael P. Costeloe.* [Cambridge Latin American Studies, Number 2.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 138. $5.50.)

CHURCH wealth has been one of the major unstudied questions of nineteenth-century Mexico. This brief, pioneering monograph, supplementing recent articles by the author, provides an exceptionally lucid and interesting treatment of a vital aspect of the subject. Costeloe's work is fundamentally archival, based primarily on hitherto unused Church records now located in the *Archivo General de la Nación.* The *Juzgado* was Mexico's principal banking institution from colonial times until its abolition in 1861. As an office of the archbishopric, the *Juzgado* performed primarily an administrative function; it was charged with securing a modest return of 5 per cent on sums donated by individuals to establish chaplaincies and pious works. This return often provided a perpetual annuity for descendants of the donor. Following an excellent general introduction, the book treats in detail, with numerous illustrative cases, the organization of the *Juzgado,* its loan policy, and the economic and political impact of ecclesiastical investment. Costeloe demonstrates that the *Juzgado* provided a unique and essential service by giving financial assistance on easy terms to individuals and institutions that could put up real estate as collateral. This service continued, until 1861, despite growing inefficiency of management caused by the vastness of

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the *Juzgado*'s activities and by the economic turmoil of the early nineteenth century. Because the *Juzgado* demanded that loans be secured by real estate, "the Church exercised a dominant and almost complete control of the land within the archbishopric, and indeed, the country."

Costeloe criticizes in detail the standard liberal view of the economic ill effects of clerical investment, as expressed by José María Luis Mora in 1836. Mora, and the reformers of the 1850's after him, exaggerated the Church's responsibility for the agricultural depression of the postindependence years. If the inheritors of colonial mortgages had difficulty paying off their debts to the Church, it was primarily because of the instability of the times, rather than because of the Church's loan policy, which was lenient and not dictated by a profit motive. Despite his criticism of partisan distortions by the liberals, Costeloe appears to accept their basic argument: namely, that the Church's monopoly of credit and control over land was detrimental to economic growth and should be eliminated. Costeloe's findings point up, among other matters, the need for further investigation into the socioeconomic bases of the liberal-conservative conflict. Since most of the country's landowners were tied to the Church economically, would they be led tacitly, if not openly, to support the institution? Or would they attack it, hoping that their debts might disappear? Or did these motives cancel each other out? Such a cancellation would strengthen the view, as do several other suggestions of Costeloe, that the mid-century reform movement was essentially an ideological rather than a socioeconomic movement.

University of Iowa CHARLES A. HALE

CHRISTOPHE, KING OF HAITI. By *Hubert Cole*. (New York: Viking Press. 1967. Pp. 307. $6.50.)

FEW readers familiar with Caribbean history would question Selden Rodman's statement on the cover that a "full-dress treatment" of Henri Christophe "has been overdue for more than a century." But some may challenge his view of Christophe as "the most romantic figure in the annals of the Negro race" or the assertion that "Mr. Cole does justice both to Christophe's creative grandiloquence and to bloody wars of liberation out of which he rose." And, although Rodman once wrote a book about Haiti (*Haiti: The Black Republic* [1954]), many will find it difficult to agree with him that "The research is fantastic" in Cole's work. Compared to other popular histories about early Haitian leaders, it does indeed stand above such superficial and slender volumes as John W. Vandercook's *Black Majesty* (1928) and Charles Moran's *Black Triumvirate* (1957).

Cole's biography traces Christophe's corpse-strewn trail from sugar plantation scullion in the French colony of Saint Domingue to absolute master of half the New World's second oldest sovereign state (from 1807 until his sensational suicide in 1820). Roughly half the book deals with the struggle of Haiti's Negroes and mulattoes to free themselves from their former oppressors between the great uprising of 1791 and final expulsion of the French (with decisive help from yellow fever and a British naval blockade) in 1803. Dessalines, "the brave monster who won Haiti her independence," emerges as a greater patriot than Toussaint L'Ouverture because of the latter's "surrender to the French" and "his

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constant double-dealing." Both seem to shrink in the long shadow of their eventual heir, Christophe. Alexandre Pétion and his successor, Jean-Pierre Boyer, fare even worse, contrary to more favorable verdicts by other foreign writers and Haitian historians themselves. Of Henri Christophe, the author admits, "He was a tyrant and no matter how benevolent his intentions his hand was heavy and often resented." A curious anti-American note creeps into some passages, notably the harsh appraisal of Thomas Jefferson and various unflattering references to US merchants trading with Haiti. Cole's grasp of the Louisiana question, central to Napoleon's interest in the reconquest of Saint Domingue, reveals some confusion with respect to the diplomatic history of this fascinating period. When checked against the text, five pages of cryptic notes suggest that the author has made rather limited use of his own bibliography, where entries appear without critical evaluation and occasionally without sufficient information to properly identify them.

Here is an entertaining book for the general reader, but it falls somewhat short of making a significant contribution to serious literature on the subject.

Northern Illinois University ROLAND T. ELY

IDEAS AND POLITICS OF CHILEAN INDEPENDENCE, 1808–1833. By *Simon Collier*. [Cambridge Latin American Studies, Number 1.] (New York: Cambrige University Press. 1967. Pp. xvii, 395. $11.00.)

CAMBRIDGE University has now entered the lists of major institutions sponsoring a "Latin American Studies" series partly resulting from deliberate university and government efforts since 1960 to stimulate historical and social science training in this area. As the series' first volume, this case study of political ideas sets high standards for historical investigation and straightforward prose.

Professor Collier opens his study by applying the well-known causes for the Spanish American revolutions to the Chilean experience. He also introduces some extra factors: "a local and distinctively Chilean patriotism" and the bitter economic rivalry with Peru. The task is not simple, and the author himself appears uncertain as to the degree of Creole versus peninsular friction. Once embarked on the core of his investigation, however, his narrative gathers authority. The 1808–1810 period emerges as a deliberate Creole program to win local autonomy, and it is characterized as the move to "Home Rule." Although an anti-Carrera bias colors the ensuing period of 1810–1814, Collier does credit José Miguel Carrera with "the elaboration of the revolutionary ideology, which was by far the most important intellectual activity of the 'Patria Vieja.' "

The second section analyzes revolutionary ideology. Chile's writers and statesmen obviously were highly individualistic and eclectic in their selections from European liberalism. When Collier reaches the important *mystique* of the Revolution, he seems to have overreacted to the rhetoric and flourishes of Chilean prose. His effective quotations portraying trust in utopian destinies and constitutions or bitter hatreds of Spain and glowing admiration of the United States might not sound quite so striking if presented in their original Spanish or compared with similar declarations voiced in Venezuela or Argentina. Regardless of how seriously the Chileans or we should take such expressions, this *mystique*

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developed into a growing sense of national identity that has been effectively underlined by Collier.

The final section reverts to a narrative approach. Bernardo O'Higgins appears as a liberal democrat and a dictator. Juan Egaña introduces an authoritarian and moralistic utopia through the Constitution of 1823. Collier then wrestles with the themes of federalism and liberalism culminating in the Constitution of 1828. Federalism failed, he explains, because it was inimical to Chile's structure. But not even this good an explanation emerges to justify why liberalism failed, and Collier provides no satisfactory answer to the same question that has baffled many distinguished predecessors. The answers flow more easily once Diego Portales appears as the inspiration, mentor, and director of the conservative assumption of power. The restoration of law and order in the Constitution of 1833, however, is not an unmixed blessing. As Collier pleads in his concluding sentence: "the coming of Diego Portales marked the end of the revolution; and it had been a revolution of high hopes and generous sympathies."

This book, despite the questions left unanswered and perhaps unanswerable, provides a clear and thoroughly researched review of Chile's early political ideology and formation. It does not boast any startling discoveries or grand syntheses, but, in its quiet competence, it provides a significant addition to our knowledge of Chile's development.

Indiana University JAMES R. SCOBIE

EL PLAN ECONÓMICO DEL GRUPO RIVADAVIANO, 1811–1827: SU SENTIDO Y SUS CONTRADICCIONES; SUS PROYECCIONES SOCIALES; SUS ENEMIGOS. By *Sergio Bagú*. [Universidad Nacional del Litoral, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Colección de textos y documentos, Series B, Number 2.] (Rosario: Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Nacional del Litoral. [1966.] Pp. 564.)

THE *rivadavianos* tried to create a national organic and viable economy based on a colonial structure. What in Great Britain had been attained through a "process of spontaneity," Rivadavia wanted to attain by means of a series of measures subject to a certain priority and under the supervision of the state, although not in the modern sense of state socialism. Yet Rivadavia's measures superseded anything attempted at the time in other parts of Latin America.

Professor Bagú contends that in its first two stages the plan rested on a theoretical mirage that was based primarily on the thinking of Adam Smith. This did not work mainly because in transplanting Smith's ideas, already being abandoned in England, the *rivadavianos* had to use the state to take the place that in Britain belonged to a class of private entrepreneurs formed through several centuries of developing foreign markets and profiting from colonial usufruct.

This mirage, Bagú continues, reappears in the third stage "like a childhood illusion that does not wish to go away." But new developments placed the *rivadavianos* in a different position, and they now appealed less frequently to the classical European economists. They wanted the state to serve as an active agent, but not based on any socializing concept. They hoped that private interests would fulfill the redemptive mission of economic development they so warmly

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desired for Argentina. This contradiction arose from a defective theoretical concept, and, when the planners were ready to rectify the error, the "revolt" of private interests and the "frontal attack" of the British Empire overcame a resistance that had been notably weakened. Perhaps the reason for the failure lay also in the fact that the *rivadavianos* were mainly intellectuals who came from incipient colonial bourgeois families and who had little contact with the people. Bagú feels that, in spite of this, it is important to rescue for posterity the work of the *rivadavianos,* who were the first to offer their country a national plan of economic development, and who, wise as well as ingenuous, were determined until the very "moment of their political bankruptcy to defend the nation in an economic sense and in its relations with the imperial colossus."

At first view this study appears lopsided, but, upon reading it, one quickly perceives its purpose: the vindication of the *rivadavianos* in an impartial manner. While only approximately one-fifth of the book is text and even that is filled with valuable tables and statistics, this book is a dream come true for the researcher. Here is practically everything pertaining to the economic history of Argentina from 1810 to 1830, indexed and in document form. For the revisionists of Argentine history and others who disliked Rivadavia, it may be helpful in gaining second thoughts before carrying on their work of vilification. As Bagú points out, most *rivadavianos* strongly supported the war against Brazil, which, in its desire to control Uruguay, was Argentina's natural enemy. It was also a satellite of the British Empire.

University of Colorado FRITZ L. HOFFMANN

THE MODERN HISTORY OF PERU. By *Fredrick B. Pike.* [Praeger Histories of Latin America.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1967. Pp. xix, 386. $7.50.)

THE history of republican Peru, today a land of one-half million square miles and twelve million people, has been sparsely and poorly written. Prior to the publication of this book there was no extensive monograph in English appraising the nation's history after the proclamation of independence by the Argentine General José de San Martín in 1821.

Professor Pike's *The Modern History of Peru* should be widely read; his bibliographical essay and full notes will be ransacked by future students of the field; and his interpretation of Peruvian history will be hotly debated. Pike quotes the dictum of the leading Peruvian historian, Jorge Basadre, that the teaching and writing of history in his country have constituted a perpetual civil war. Pike has gone into the trenches, fired his weapons, and expects counterattack.

This revisionist study is more consciously subjective in its perspective, structure, and use of evidence than are traditional, less stimulating general histories. It is the author's contention, stated in his preface, that Peru is "wrongly held up as an example of a conservative country that fanatically shuns change," and he asserts his "belief that the Peruvian 'oligarchy' has been enlightened and progressive about as often as it has been selfish and reactionary," adding, "a myth of Peruvian history I find particularly annoying is that the country has developed and achieved what progress it has only through revolutionary fits and starts."

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To support his counterpropositions, especially his conviction that "real political power in the Peru of the mid-1960's has fallen into the hands of not just a middle sector but . . . actually a middle class," which will work with, and presumably guide, both the power elite and the proletariat, the author adduces many interesting data and presents fresh interpretations. The necessarily heavy political emphasis is enlivened by keen analysis of the ideas of several Peruvian thinkers, not usually mentioned in foreign works, who are targets of fierce partisanship in Peruvian studies. And Pike's skillful dissection of the causes of the decline of the once powerful APRA party is indeed valuable revisionism, but I am not convinced that the Peruvian past and the *caudillos* are as redeemable as Pike makes them out to be. The weight of the evidence is against Castilla, Leguía, and the others, and the word oligarchy needs no quotation marks when used to describe the rulers of Peru.

University of Texas THOMAS F. MCGANN

THE MEXICAN MINING INDUSTRY, 1890–1950: A STUDY OF THE INTERACTION OF POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND TECHNOLOGY. By *Marvin D. Bernstein*. ([Albany:] State University of New York; distrib. by Antioch Press, Yellow Springs, Ohio. 1964. Pp. xvi, 412. $10.00.)

WITH the single exception of zinc among the major nonferrous metals, by 1960 Mexican mining production was considerably less than it had been in the late 1920's. The three principal metals—gold, silver, copper—had fallen well below the output in the late Díaz years. The total value of metal production, including the ferrous, was only slightly more than that of tourism; the mining sector contributed only 2 per cent of the gross domestic product, and less than 1 per cent of the economically active workers were engaged in the industry. Mining, which had played such an overwhelmingly important role in the Mexican economy since the early days of the colonial period, had fallen on evil days indeed.

Professor Marvin Bernstein concerns himself primarily with gold, silver, copper, lead, and zinc, although he mentions some other materials. He examines in detail the multitudinous facets of the mining industry as it has grown and declined. With meticulous attention to detail, he traces the development of the important mining regions, indicating the nature of the deposits and the technology employed in the various stages of development; he describes the formation of the major mining companies as they grew into titans and the liquidation of some of those who exhausted their deposits. Period by period he analyzes the laws regarding the nature of the mining concessions, showing clearly the changing ideas concerning the relationship of government to mining and the problems created by these shifting concepts. He discusses in detail the tax laws imposed by various administrations and what these laws meant in terms of probable profits and of company stability; he weighs the impact of government-supported labor organizations on the health of the industry and attempts to compare the productivity of the Mexican miner with his counterpart in other world regions. Finally, he devotes much attention to the formation and fortunes of cooperatives that presumably could, but seldom did, work profitably within the laws.

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Bernstein has attempted to answer two questions: what happened to Mexican mining to account for its virtually negligible impact on the economy today, and what are the prospects for the future? He concludes that rampant nationalism, a product of the Revolution, has dictated economically unrealistic laws that have crippled the industry even though the legal structure may be socially and politically justified. The structure has, he maintains, put a high premium on working existing deposits to exhaustion, but it has discouraged geological surveys and exploratory works that would locate new deposits. And, though the industry is less important than other sectors of the economy, the author doubts that growing Mexican industrialism can afford to allow mining to expire, which Bernstein fears will occur unless government policy encourages rapid survey and exploration.

This work presents no lurid account of foreign exploitation. The author accepts the fact that a mining company should produce metals at a profitable rate without concerning itself with "social responsibility"; his only interest in examining the legal structure is to determine whether government policy has tended to aid or hinder the industry. He mentions the reluctance of the companies to utilize safety measures, to compensate for illnesses or accidents, or to employ nationals in positions of managerial responsibility, but he does not emphasize the points, and he draws no conclusions. Nor does he question the justification of a profit of about 200 per cent within seven years, but he does include an exclamation point to emphasize one company's annual profit of 468 per cent over a twenty-five-year span. Some readers might object to the general tone of this book, which seems to view the question almost exclusively through the eyes of the companies, and others may object to the small errors of fact, which, though numerous, are inconsequential to the main theme. This is not a book to enjoy in a quiet evening's reading, but it is invaluable for its wealth of detail on every important feature of the subject.

Michigan State University CHARLES C. CUMBERLAND

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* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

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*Mr. Lindgren has assumed responsibility for the Northern European list of articles, beginning with this issue. He succeeds Mr. Oscar J. Falnes, who compiled this list for twenty-five years. The *Review* would like to express its deep appreciation for Mr. Falnes' many years of service.

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★ ★ ★ ★ Association Notes ★ ★ ★ ★

American Historical Association

The Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in New York City, December 28–30, 1968, at the Statler Hilton Hotel. Fifteen hundred rooms have been reserved at the Statler Hilton, and an equal number at the Hotel New Yorker. Information about locations and rates and detailed instructions will be sent to all members when the program of the meeting is distributed in midautumn.

The Terrace Ballroom, Lobby Level of the Statler Hilton, will house the Registration Desk, the Locator File, the Information Desk, the Professional Register, and the Hospitality Area. Registration will be open Friday, December 27, from 2 p.m. until 10 p.m.; Saturday, December 28, from 8 a.m. until 6 p.m.; Sunday, December 29, from 8:30 a.m. until 4:30 p.m.; and Monday, December 30, from 8:30 a.m. until 12:30 p.m.

If a member of the Association wishes to use the Professional Register at the Annual Meeting, but is not yet a member of the Register, he is urged to pre-register by mail; this will greatly relieve congestion at the meeting and facilitate service. Prospective employers are also urged to submit their vacancies by mail a month before the Annual Meeting, should they wish their staff needs posted during the course of the meeting. Both candidates and employers should list their local addresses with the Professional Register as soon as they arrive in New York; every effort will be made to expedite the interviewing process. Candidates must be AHA members before joining the Register. The initial fee is three dollars; the annual renewal charge, one dollar if paid within one month after the annual billing. The services of the Register are available to employers without charge. For additional information, consult the program of the Annual Meeting and the December 1968 *AHA Newsletter,* or write the Association at 400 A Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003.

Recent Deaths

Winston C. Babb, professor at Furman University, died January 21, 1968.

Leland H. Creer of the University of Utah died March 25, at the age of seventy-three. A specialist in the US West, he wrote *Utah and the Nation.*

John D. Peterson of the University of California, Santa Barbara, died March 27, at the age of thirty-five.

Ralph Haswell Lutz, professor emeritus at Stanford University, died April 8, at the age of eighty-two. In addition to teaching, he engaged in numerous activities on behalf of the Hoover Library.

Rushton Coulborn, professor of history and prehistory emeritus of the Graduate School of Atlanta University, died April 17, at the age of sixty-six.

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Born in England, educated at McGill, London, and Paris, a teacher in the United States for almost thirty years, lecturer at the Universities of Mainz and Kyoto, he was truly an international scholar. He was a universal scholar as well, interested in anthropology, sociology, philosophy, and comparative history. These interests were reflected in his many articles and in his two best-known books, *Feudalism in History* (1956) and the *Origin of Civilized Societies* (1959).

Douglass G. Adair, professor at the Claremont Graduate School, died May 2, at the age of fifty-six. His major field of interest was early American history; from 1946 to 1955 he was managing editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly*.

Frank J. Klingberg, professor emeritus at the University of California, Los Angeles, died June 5, at the age of eighty-five. He was a specialist in American colonial history.

G. S. Marshall of the University of Chicago died June 10, at the age of forty-six.

Arthur J. May, professor emeritus at the University of Rochester, died June 13, at the age of sixty-nine. He was the author of, among other works, *Hapsburg Monarchy, 1867–1914*.

Harold U. Faulkner, Dwight W. Morris Professor Emeritus of History at Smith College, died June 17, at the age of seventy-eight. An authority on twentieth-century American economic and social history, he wrote *American Economic History*.

Members of the Association who have died recently are: Charles Seymour Alden of Cambridge, Massachusetts; M. W. Armstrong of Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pennsylvania; F. F. Ewing, Jr., of Texas A & M University; H. Folmer of Denver, Colorado; J. M. Grimes of the University of the South; E. Horn of the State University of Iowa; Sexon E. Humphreys of Indianapolis, Indiana; W. J. Kapika, S. J., of Xavier University; J. Kaster of Brooklyn, New York; F. E. Louraine of Alexandria, Virginia; L. P. Lovette of Alexandria, Virginia; the Right Reverend Arthur J. Riley of Quincy, Massachusetts.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

My publishers have just sent me a copy of Mr. Sidney Glazer's review of my book *American Interests in Syria, 1800–1901* (*AHR*, LXXIII [Oct. 1967], 187). In questioning the accuracy of some of the reviewer's statements I recognize that the review itself is on the whole favorable. At least four of these statements, however, cannot be ignored because they convey a wrong impression of the contents and conclusions of the book.

Such discussion of Catholic missions as I attempted clearly shows that their activities were confined to Christian communities, but not as stated by the reviewer on account of "Muslim resistance." Nor did the American mission, with which I was more directly concerned, encounter, according to the reviewer, "the same difficulties." The facts are that the Catholic missionaries had a point of

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anchor in the native Catholic communities, while the American missionaries had to overcome strong resistance, not from the Muslims among whom all Christian missionary work was, under Ottoman rule, illegal, but from the Maronite and Orthodox hierarchies, since it was from their communities that the Americans sought and succeeded in carving a new Protestant community.

The reviewer goes out of his way to explain that "the heathen" meant "native Arabs." Neither the short desk dictionaries nor the detailed and authoritative *Oxford English Dictionary* bears him out. Still less does the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In their instructions to the first missionaries sent to the Near East they clearly distinguish, almost in the words of the *OED,* between the pagans (they do not use the word heathen) and the Jews, Christians, and Muslims.

Mr. Glazer oversimplifies the origin of the Syrian Protestant College, now famous as the American University of Beirut. It was not a choice between preaching and teaching for the missionaries who founded it; nor were they "compelled . . . to abandon" the former in favor of the latter. They never did, as their reports and letters, quoted in the book, abundantly prove.

The most untenable of Mr. Glazer's assertions, however, is that American educational work "helped to fashion the contemporary Arab world [*sic*]" and that without such work "twentieth-century Arab history [*sic*] would undoubtedly have taken a far different course." He blames me for not going into this matter, thus raising serious doubt that he has read the book with sufficient attention. For I have throughout given detailed assessment of the influence of the schools, the quality of the books actually produced by the printing press, and the course of study and type of students at the college—all based on facts derived from original American missionary sources. These leave no doubt that, for the period of my inquiry, Mr. Glazer's extravagant claims and unguarded language are not justified.

University of London A. L. Tibawi

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Professor Gatell's review of my book *Biddle's Bank: The Crucial Years* (*AHR,* LXXIII [Oct. 1967], 226) contains some inaccuracies. For example, the "heart" of the book, as he calls it, does not seem to me to be what he says it is; the "culprits" are not limited to the three he mentions; and the banks of Virginia are not treated as conclusively as he suggests.

The last paragraph of the review reads: "Although Wilburn called her study 'an intensive one,' research in primary sources has not been extensive. And since 'Thomas Olcott's role is especially significant,' an examination of Olcott's papers seems logical. They can be found in the Columbia University Library."

However meager my research in primary sources appears to Professor Gatell, it was not so inadequate as to omit examination of the Olcott Papers. During the period in which I was doing my research, the Olcott Papers were exclusively available to the person who had been instrumental in bringing them to Columbia. He was kind enough to grant me permission to examine them. They are not

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listed in the bibliography because they presented no information on the Bank's history in the period with which I was concerned.

Barnard College JEAN ALEXANDER WILBURN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his most interesting assessment of recent research on "National Socialism" (*AHR,* LXXIII [Dec. 1967], 404–24), Professor Wolfgang Sauer characterizes my interpretation of fascism as an attempt "to fuse elements of Max Weber's and Marxist theories." It so happens that there is only one reference to Marxist ideas in my book (*Big Business in the Third Reich* [1964], 663) which runs as follows:

> This interaction between property and organizational power is in conflict with the theory of Marx. His strict followers have asserted that in capitalism all power originates from ownership of capital, and that "the ruling class under capitalism is made up of the functionaries of capital" (Paul Sweezy, *The Present as History,* New York, 1953, p. 60). In this view, the Nazi Party possessed power only because its leaders became capitalists themselves (p. 61). The party possessed no original base of power but was merely an instrument of monopoly capitalism (p. 238). Neither assertion about leaders and the party can be supported by specific evidence in the formerly secret documents.

I may be allowed to say that this rejection of the Marxian interpretation of fascism still stands. My intellectual commitment is to the ideas of Max Weber, not to Marx, and no fusion was either intended or executed.

Indiana University ARTHUR SCHWEITZER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I am glad that Professor Schweitzer corrects what I now see was an error. I am still somewhat puzzled by the question, however, as to how a theory of fascism can be exclusively built on Max Weber's theory. From Weber's emphasis on bureaucracy and leadership the way seems to lead to an analysis in terms of totalitarianism rather than to that in terms of fascism. In fact Professor Schweitzer himself admits on page four of his book that Weber's theory is not entirely sufficient for his purpose, but he does not tell us which conceptual means he applied for supplementing it. From certain characteristics of his language and from some similarities to Franz L. Neumann's analysis I inferred that he was applying Marxist ideas—ideas, *nota bene,* not the complete Marxist theory. If that is not correct, we are back to the original question: which supplementary concepts did he apply?

University of California, Berkeley WOLFGANG SAUER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I did not intend at first to answer T. Stoianovich's review of my book *The Albanian National Awakening, 1878–1912* (*AHR,* LXXIII [Dec. 1967], 537), for I wanted to let the book speak for itself. If I reply to his review now it is because

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I think it will serve a useful purpose in dispelling the confusion created by some of his unfounded—I might even say irresponsible—comments.

The reviewer makes the sweeping accusation that I have been "blind . . . to socioeconomic problems." No other review of the book that I have come across has referred to any neglect on my part concerning the social (and for that matter, economic) aspects of the problems involved. On the contrary, a review in such a journal as the *International Review of Social History* (XII [Dec. 1967], 330), commenting on the contents and treatment in the book, adds: "and last but not least the impact of social conditions on the process of national awakening are set forth in detail. . . ."

Stoianovich's contention about my blindness "to socioeconomic problems" relates to the alleged failure on my part "to observe that they [the Albanian landlords] constituted a special social category." Dividing them into "greatest landlords" and "great landowning families," he holds that the latter—from which "the advocates of Albanian autonomy" stemmed—were the Toptani, Vrioni, Vlora, Frashëri, and Bushati. He apparently has picked up these names from the introduction of R. Busch-Zantner's *Albanien, Neues Land im Imperium* (1939), a book published when Albania became part of Mussolini's empire. But the reviewer, as will become evident, not knowing exactly what these families represented, has created confusion. These families belong to the category that he has called "the greatest landowners," except for the Frashëri, who were not landowners at all and came from the hinterland. On the other hand, whereas the nationalistic activity of some members of these families is mentioned in documents, there is silence about the Bushati from Shkodër. Besides, when Busch-Zantner refers to the Albanian landlords (beys and pashas), he places them in more recent times and within the frontiers of independent Albania. But these were not the only Albanian feudal lords; several of those who played an important role in the period 1878–1912 came from territories outside present Albania, from Kosovo and Metohija, or Dibër (Debar), which in that period constituted part of the Ottoman Empire. All the Albanian landlords (large and small), inside or outside Albania proper, have been considered in my book, whenever necessary, both as individuals and as a group. Suffice to mention that in its concluding chapter there is a passage that runs as follows:

> In Albania, however, with the conversion of the majority to Islam, a new class of leaders gradually emerged, the landowning pashas and beys. This feudal nobility, which represented to a certain extent a cohesive political group among the Albanians, supported the claim to the autonomy of their country mainly because they were opposed to the centralistic policy of the Porte, which curtailed their own power. Although rivalries were not absent among them, vested interests in the empire kept them together as a class . . . (pp. 464–65).

Regarding the reviewer's comment that I "insufficiently emphasize Korçë's role as 'the most European'—Richard Busch-Zantner's term—of Albanian cities," let me first state that I was born and spent a good part of my life in that city. When Busch-Zantner writes that Korçë is "heute Albaniens 'europaischste' Stadt geworden" (p. 18), it is clear that he does not have in mind Korçë of the period 1878–1912. Even the introduction of democratic ideas in Korçë, which

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the German author evidently loaths, for he employs the adverb *leider,* is principally of the post-1912 period. I have described, interpreted, and stressed in the book the nationalism of Korçë as much as the documents (published and unpublished) at my disposal and my intimate knowledge of developments in that city and in other parts of Albania allowed me, as one is bound to do when writing history.

Columbia University STAVRO SKENDI

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Much to my regret, I must repeat that Mr. Skendi gives only the most cursory consideration to the socioeconomic aspects of Albanian nationalism. As for his contention that the Frashëri "were not landowners at all," readers might take note that on page 199 of his book he himself identifies Maliq Bey Frashëri as "a landowner." He further contends that the Toptani, Vrioni, Vlora, and Bushati families should be considered as "greatest landlords" and thus rejects my identification of them as landowners economically just beneath the "greatest landlords," from whom they also differed in being prone to an alliance with the Ottoman bureaucracy of Albanian origin. Such differences of opinion will continue to prevail until we know the extent and value of the properties of various groups of landlords and can define more exactly the nature of the relationship between various categories of landownership and various approaches to the problem of nationalism. Mr. Skendi has not engaged in that kind of analysis.

He freely alludes in his letter to Richard Busch-Zantner's antidemocratic remarks—or were they the publisher's, or the Nazi regime's?—in an apparent effort to belittle the socioeconomic analysis of a very able German scholar. How justifiable is his inference of a positive correlation between politics and scholarly competence? I also wonder whether the fact of being born in Korçë (Koritsa) necessarily makes of Mr. Skendi an expert in the problems of the cultural anthropology and sociology of the town. He appears to possess many of the admirable qualities of the "historian's historian," but his method is woefully deficient.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick TRAIAN STOIANOVICH

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The new publication of the Papal Secretariate of State on Vatican diplomacy during World War II, which already now, after the appearance of the first four volumes (in 5 parts containing 1,550 documents), is a primary source of unusual importance, would deserve more attention than could be given it in the brief critique of Volume III by Professor von Klemperer (*AHR,* LXXIII [Apr. 1968], 1143). He has indeed chosen the most interesting volume on the situation in occupied Poland and the Baltic countries and rightly praises the heroic attitude of the local clergy, who never "collaborated." It is, however, unfortunate that the reviewer repeated on that occasion the usual accusations against the "all too silent Pope Pius XII."

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The most courageous and outspoken leader of the Polish hierarchy, the archbishop of Cracow, Adam Sapieha, wrote in 1942 (Vol. III, Pt. 2, No. 352) that the Pope's "noble and affectionate heart must be torn when he sees all the horrible snares that are plotted in the world and, in addition, the ingratitude that is shown to him." From the facsimile of his first encyclical, of October 20, 1939 (Vol. I, No. 213), we see that the passage on Poland's sufferings and right to "resurrection in justice and peace" was substantially enlarged on the typescript in the handwriting of Pius XII. On February 18, 1941, he instructed the nuncios in the neutral countries, as well as the apostolic delegate in Washington, Monsignor Cicognani, who was deeply interested in Poland, to oppose the truth about the religious situation in that country, worse than anywhere else, to the misleading German propaganda (Vol. IV, No. 265).

The best-qualified witness, Ambassador Kazimierz Papée, who has represented Poland at the Vatican from 1939 to the present, could publish, in 1954, sixty documents in evidence of the Pope's concern with Poland during the war and its aftermath (*Pius XII a Polska 1939–1949*). May I also refer to my review articles on all four volumes of the new series in the *Catholic Historical Review* (LII [July 1966]; LIII [Oct. 1967]; LIV [July 1968]) where I explained in the second one the "painful episode" with Bishop Radoński, which Professor von Klemperer singled out, questioning the comments of the editors.

Very welcome is, of course, the reviewer's suggestion that a volume be published to document the whole story of the clergy in the occupied areas. But many such data can already be found in the present series and prove that if Pius XII did not talk too much about that martyrdom, it was because he was trying all the time to do something about it.

White Plains, New York O. Halecki

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

I appreciate Professor Halecki's taking the trouble to comment on my review of the Vatican documents. There is, I think, a wide area of agreement between us. The evidence so far available tends to confirm the extreme difficulties under which Pius XII labored in countering the diabolical Nazi policies during the Second World War. His princely functions came into conflict with his pastoral ones, and his supranational position tended to clash with the varying national loyalties of his flock. It goes without saying that Hochhuth's charge of the Pope's cynicism toward suffering humanity is poor history; Saul Friedländer's thesis, moreover, that Pius' pro-German leanings determined his policies toward Hitler finds no support in the documents. I am not even convinced by the highly touchy proposition of the Vatican's fear of Bolshevism as a factor in the "appeasement" of Nazi Germany.

The disagreement between Professor Halecki and me is not over the " 'noble and affectionate heart' " of Pius XII, but over his wisdom of charting a distinctly cautious course. His policy of silence and indirection was the policy of a diplomat rather than that of a moral leader of Christianity in crisis. I am not wholly persuaded that in the case of Pius doing took the place of talking; in many in-

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stances his prescription was, *ad majora mala vitanda,* to do nothing. Furthermore the word is not mere talk; a clearer break on the part of the papacy with the policy of silence and indirection would have meant a moral commitment on the part of the Church which, it might be argued, would have been salutory even at the price of more martyrdom.

Incidentally, a documentation of the kind that I suggested at the end of my review on the martyrdom of the clergy has recently been published in Munich (Benedicta Maria Kempner, *Priester vor Hitlers Tribunalen*).

Smith College KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

While I appreciate Professor Louis Filler's assessment of my book *Edward Wilmot Blyden* as "clear and forthright" (*AHR,* LXXIII [Apr. 1968], 1216), I feel that he has been less than careful in forming his opinions about Blyden or in representing mine. An examination of three of his statements would show this.

First, Professor Filler writes: "His [Blyden's] wholehearted cooperation with imperialist agents was hardly likely to furnish inspiration to later Negro nationalists." Blyden's cooperation was not "wholehearted." It is true that he came to see European imperialism as an agency unwittingly promoting his Pan-Negro goals, but he was fully aware of its hazards to Africa; his was a critical and qualified cooperation, and he strongly believed that European imperialism would be temporary. If Professor Filler had understood this, he might not have been skeptical that Blyden *did* furnish inspiration to later West African nationalists, among them J. E. Casely Hayford, Herbert Macaulay, Nnamdi Azikiwe, and Kwame Nkrumah, as my epilogue well documents.

Again he writes: "Professor Lynch conscientiously records Blyden's weaknesses as an organizer and thinker, but concludes that his long service and dedication entitle him to be honored and remembered." That is not my major conclusion; just as "conscientiously" did I seek to show that Blyden's influence, both contemporary and posthumous, derived from the impact of his ideas as the most outstanding Pan-African intellectual and West African nationalist in the nineteenth century.

Finally Professor Filler writes: "Many of the events and personalities discussed are far from earth shaking; it would be a disservice to pretend they are." I can only say that all other scholars I know acquainted with Blyden's career agree that he is one of the most complex, fascinating, and significant figures of the nineteenth century and that he and his associates were concerned with the highly important task of fashioning a new society in West Africa—a synthesis of the best in traditional African, Muslim, and Western cultures—with the humane end of bringing respect and dignity to African peoples everywhere.

State University of New York, Buffalo HOLLIS R. LYNCH

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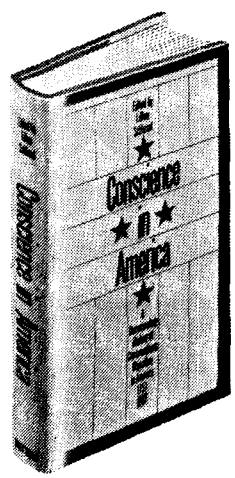
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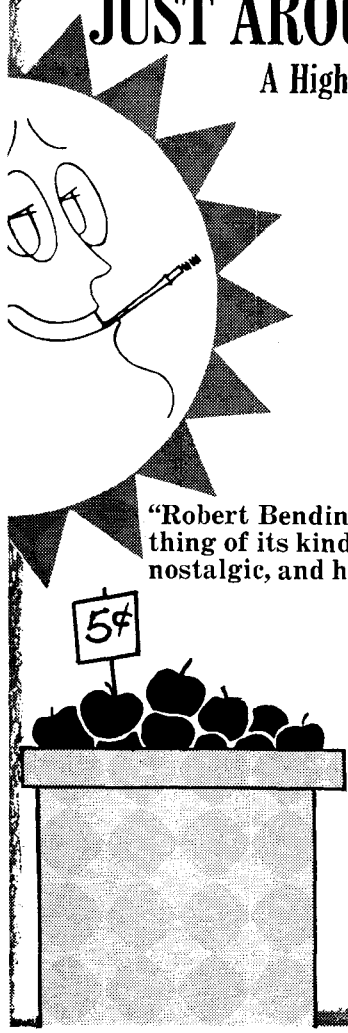
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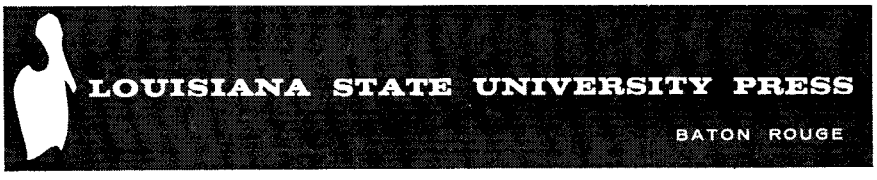
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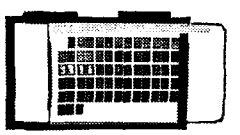
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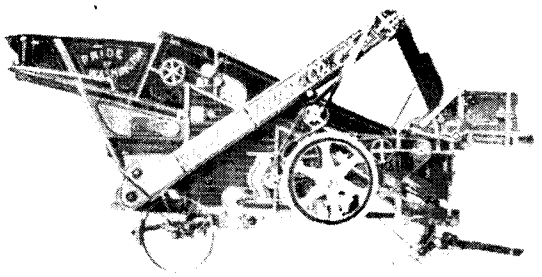
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